HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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1967: Crucial Test for Foreign Policy

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The art of prediction, if it is to be something different from sheer guessing, involves a critical estimation of shifts and balances in power relationships. And when one says "power," one does not mean military power alone. Indeed, since no one dares to use the more advanced weaponry today, military power may be among the least of a prophet's concerns.

In 1965 the postwar period came to its definitive close. De Gaulle's flouting of NATO is usually named as the causative factor, but this was less important, actually, than U.S. lack of sensitivity in the treatment of Germany.

Kurt Georg Kiesinger, West Germany's new chancellor, tells the Bundestag that Franco-German relations will determine the future of Europe.

For awhile, after the stupidities of Yalta and Potsdam, Washington's policies toward Europe were governed by comparative wisdom. Ditto for the Far East after the one big error that let Mao Tse-tung seize China. The definitive happenings in Europe and Asia in the years after 1948 were the Great Leaps Forward that occurred in West Germany and Japan. These loom as the more portentous because they were accompanied by the Great Flops Backward in Eastern Europe and in Red China.

With economic stability facing economic instability on two fronts of the Eurasian continent, the policies of the United States, a great "island" with a "swing" position, remain, for better or worse, the most important consideration to Germans and Japanese. We have strengthened them as our allies; we abandon them at our mortal peril.

With the West Germans we have already taken a misstep that could prove fatal. When Lyndon Johnson sent Ludwig Erhard home to Bonn last autumn with empty hands, it meant the end of a "center" coalition in West Germany that had been entirely favorable to us and to the West. Johnson sealed Erhard's doom by insisting that Bonn live up to its contract for buying unwanted U.S. military equipment, while wigwagging frantically to Soviet Russia and East Europe that trade credits were no object if only Moscow would help us get a Viet Nam peace.

The 1966 mistake in our German policy is not necessarily irretrievable: the new Grand Coalition in Bonn of Christian Democratic and Socialist parties is not yet our enemy. But we are on dangerous ground. The West Germans, thanks to the Erhard "miracle," have a modern industrial plant all dressed up, and it must go someplace.

If this plant can't profit by dealings with the West, the East European region of the Great Flop offers a vacuum into

Prime Minister Eisako Sato's Japan, now buttressed by the West, has to find markets in Asia to counter Red Chinese influence.

which the West German economic strength can pour. If the United States can't make things easy for the new Kurt Kiesinger-Willy Brandt coalition, who knows what will follow? A German Socialist party, forced out of coalition, might on its assumption of majority power turn to a deal with the East if Moscow were to make some face-saving sacrificies on German reunification. A victory for the extreme right could lead to the same thing: after all, there was once a Nazi-Soviet pact.

The critical moment for our foreign policy hasn't quite come in Asia. But if we were to pull out of South Viet Nam, the whole region of Southeast Asia would be in ferment. As things stand at present, the Japanese, with their brand-new industrial machine, have been making good use of the area that has been stabilized by our arms. The Japanese have been putting money and effort into the development of a big iron mining industry in northwest Australia, counting on Southeast Asian markets and the safety of the East Asiastic seas.

If the United States should fail them in their effort to build peaceful markets in what used to be part of their "co-prosperity sphere," the incredibly strong Japanese would, somehow, have to take things into their own hands. They would have to find some way of exploiting the vacuum on the Chinese mainland caused by the Great Flop Backward.

The Vietniks will grind away at Lyndon Johnson in 1967, trying to confuse him and to cause him to lose his nerve. And, in anguish over his inability to win the Viet Nam war swiftly, Johnson is in danger of confusing himself by over-emphasizing the business of "bridge building" to the Soviet East. Such over-emphasis could wreck what remains of our once fruitful German policy.

So what are the predictions for 1967? They depend on Johnson's condition and character. One can only pray that the state of the President's health won't exacerbate the part of his character that demands domestic political certainty for himself. He has never understood that unbridled pursuit of this certainty can have the most uncertain results.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944

Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

• Michigan Gov. **George Romney** held an all-day, closed-door strategy session with his top political aides last week in New York. Discussion centered around Romney's unannounced candidacy for the GOP presidential nomination. Among those present at the meeting were Clifford Folger, veteran party fund-raiser; Max Fisher, a Detroit businessman who heads the United Jewish Appeal; former GOP National Chairman Leonard Hall; hotel magnate J. Willard Marriott, a prominent Mormon; Walter DeVries, Romney's executive assistant; Robert J. McIntosh, who resigned as Michigan's Commerce director to help secure the presidential nomination for Romney; Richard Van Duesen, a Detroit lawyer who was formerly the governor's top legal aide; and William Seidman, partner in a Detroit accounting firm.

• Gov. Romney may have stubbed his political toe by announcing recently that he would try to raise Michigan taxes another $200 million. "We need tax action or we must cut services," the GOP governor said. "Cutting services is unthinkable."

• Supreme Court Justice **Tom C. Clark** has informed the White House that he will retire if his son Ramsey is elevated from acting attorney general to attorney general. Speculation is rife that LBJ will fill the vacancy with the appointment of the first woman to the high court, perhaps University of Chicago law professor Sola Mentshicoff.

• In April, **Sharon Percy**, daughter of Illinois' newly elected GOP senator, will marry John D. Rockefeller IV, a Democrat just elected to the West Virginia state legislature. The Washington Star quotes Sharon as saying they have laid aside any political differences. "I could be a Democrat," she says, "and he used to be a Republican."

• From July 1 to November 1, Uncle Sam paid farmers $1.8 billion not to plant **cotton, wheat and feed grains**. The largest sum, $968 million, went to growers of corn, barley and sorghum grain for not using their crop lands. More than $600 million went to cotton growers who underplanted and another $300 million went to wheat planters who observed government acreage limitations. Agriculture Department officials now estimate total payments to farmers under all programs for 1966 will be around $3.3 billion, up some $800 million from 1965.

• A Pan American **cargo jet** that crashed near Berlin November 15 has been looted by Soviet authorities. The Reds turned the wreckage over to the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board, but only after they snatched one of the plane's three jet engines and most of the hydraulic and electronic equipment aboard.

• Rep. Sam Stratton (D.-N.Y.) charged last week that **J. George Stewart**, controversial architect of the Capitol, had improperly lobbied for the proposed $34-million extension of the West front of the Capitol. Stratton, a leading opponent of the architectural boondoggle, said that Stewart "has had a plush glass-covered model of the [remodeled] Capitol installed in the center of Statuary Hall, much like the tomb of Napoleon in the Invalides in Paris." Cost to the taxpayers: $20,000.

• Taxpayers coughed up $1.1 million over the Christmas holidays to finance free trips home of 8,600 **Job Corps** members. Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.) is sharply critical of the government-paid travel, noting that servicemen, including battle-decorated Viet Nam veterans, must use their own hard-earned funds for Christmas travel.

• The Rev. **A. J. Muste**, founder of the tax-exempt Fellowship of Reconciliation, departed last week for Hanoi on a mission of "peace and sympathy." The veteran pacifist was flouting a State Department travel ban and ignoring a date January 3 for a court hearing on his New York arrest Dec. 15 with other peaceniks. "My attorney applied for a postponement," Muste said in Paris before leaving for North Viet Nam. "The last I knew, it had not been granted, but I was not going to postpone a trip to Hanoi."

• No one can accuse Big Labor of being poor. The **United Auto Workers** strike fund, which finances work stoppages throughout the country, totalled $53.2 million on November 30. The fund was then bankrolling 20 strikes involving 6,071 members.

• **Human Events** is pleased to announce that its news reporting has received the 1966-67 Award of Merit from the American Academy of Public Affairs, headed by Warren Jefferson Davis. Among the members of the committee making the award were Walter Knott, former Rep. Samuel Pettengill, former American Bar Association President Loyd Wright and retired Chief Judge Orie L. Philips of the U.S. Court of Appeals.

• Millionaire Soviet apologist **Cyrus Eaton** celebrated his 83rd birthday last week by disclosing that he is working on a number of projects "of the first magnitude." He would not elaborate. Eaton has been quiet since May 1965, when he warned that armed Soviet intervention in Viet Nam was imminent.

• The Veterans of Foreign Wars have reiterated their opposition to the sale of U.S. farm surpluses to **Communist Yugoslavia.** National Commander Leslie M. Fry said the Red nation has been shipping medical and other supplies to North Viet Nam. "Their goods and materials are aiding in the death of American fighting men every day," he said. Fry added that under the proposed sale "some $4 million in credit subsidies would accrue to the government of Yugoslavia and this would come out of the pockets of the American taxpayer."

• At least three incumbent Democratic senators closely tied to the Administration face strong primary opposition in 1968: Daniel Brewster (Md.), Edward Long (Mo.) and Joseph Clark (Pa.).

• Sen. **Harry F. Byrd** (D.-Va.) has called upon LBJ to "demand that our allies cease trading with the nation which is killing United States soldiers in Asia"—North Viet Nam. Byrd said that during the past 11 months 70 free world ships have carried goods into North Vietnamese ports.

• The anti-Communist community mourns the death of **Bela Fabian**, the Hungarian freedom fighter who fought both the Nazis and the Communists. Dr. Fabian, who died last week at 77, was imprisoned during World War II in a Nazi concentration camp. After the war, as chairman of the Federation of Former Hungarian Political Prisoners, he helped galvanize public sentiment against U.S. appeasement of international communism.

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Those Salisbury Reports

Communist propagandists from Prague to Peking have seized upon the amazing series of articles written from North Viet Nam by the New York *Times's* assistant managing editor, Harrison Salisbury. The Red Goebbels cite Salisbury's reports as "proof positive"—to quote Radio Moscow—that the United States is engaged in "brutal genocide" of the North Vietnamese civilian population.

The "fall-out" from Salisbury's series will long be with us. Student leaders from 100 colleges and universities cited the dispatches in a widely publicized letter to President Johnson last week that assailed U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

Chairman J. William Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a leading critic of U.S. foreign policy, will use the Salisbury reports as a pretext for a new series of televised kleig light hearings.

"Christmas was not a joyous occasion for Nam Dinh," Salisbury wrote from North Viet Nam's third largest city. He drew a heart-rending picture of the "cathedral" town of 90,000 persons, its population reduced to "utter desolation" by systematic attack from U.S. bombers.

Salisbury maintained that the city was of no military value, quoting Nam Dinh's Communist mayor as saying it was "essentially a cotton and silk textile town containing nothing of military significance."

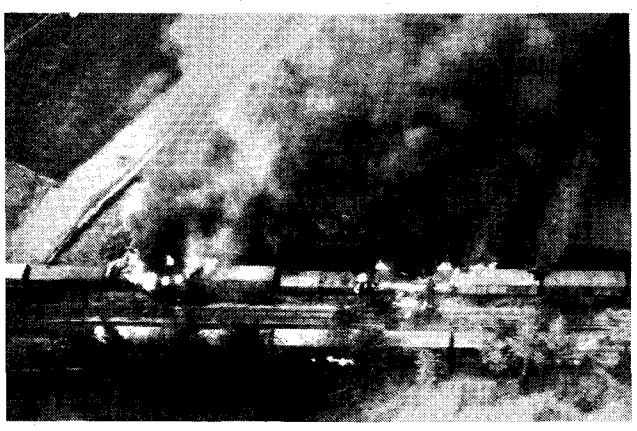
Actually, Nam Dinh is a military-industrial stronghold with some of the heaviest anti-aircraft defenses in North Viet Nam.

Cmdr. Robert C. Mandeville, a Navy attack squadron chief who has led many of the raids on Nam Dinh, reports that the city is part of a transportation complex leading south from Haiphong, North Viet Nam's chief seaport. American targets, he said, included a "large transshipment area on the banks of the river, a fuel area of the delta east of town and rail yards to the west."

His fliers regarded Nam Dinh as one of the most dangerous objectives in all of North Viet Nam. "The North Vietnamese don't waste their anti-aircraft batteries," he said. "They only put them around stuff they want to protect."

Mandeville estimated there were at least 100 multiple anti-aircraft batteries surrounding Nam Dinh, in addition to 85.-mm. anti-aircraft guns—the largest used in North Viet Nam—and the surface-to-air missiles that seek out attacking planes.

Mandeville pointed to other inaccuracies in the Salisbury account. The *Times*man had reported that in one attack on Nam Dinh eight MK-84 bombs



A North Vietnamese train goes up in smoke near Nam Dinh after being hit by U.S. Navy carrier planes.

weighing a ton each killed 49, wounded 135 and knocked down 240 houses. Mandeville said that MK-84s, in relatively scarce supply, were reserved for heavy structures such as bridges and that his squadron never carried any to the Nam Dinh area.

"It would have been a waste of time to use them on anything in Nam Dinh," Mandeville said. "You just wouldn't need them. Several smaller bombs would have been much more effective."

The Richmond *News-Leader* was sharply critical of the Salisbury reports. In a blistering editorial, the paper concluded:

"War is hell. It never has been anything else. And an unavoidable aspect of that hell is that of course civilians suffer. Of course men and women and children are left homeless. This is a part of the bloody, bitter price. The people of South Viet Nam have been paying it for years, though their plight, on Christmas Day, seems not to concern the New York *Times* quite so deeply.

"From the viewpoint of the *Times*, the Salisbury dispatches have been a coup—a stroke of great good fortune. Enemy leaders, we may be certain, view them in just the same way. They saw to it that Salisbury got his copy on the wire."

• Salisbury's reports that U.S. bombing raids have inadvertently killed some civilians are undoubtedly true. Even the Defense Department now admits this is so. But by originally denying this fact the Pentagon "spokesmen" were again caught managing the news. Also, their denials insured page-one treatment for Salisbury's dispatches by lending them an importance they otherwise would not have had. As the Chicago *Tribune* comments: "We have said here often enough that the United States should use whatever measure of force is necessary to compel the Communists to abandon the war. But there is no excuse for the government to withhold valid information from the people."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Westmoreland in '68?

Gen. William C. Westmoreland, commander of U.S. troops in Viet Nam, has been mentioned by some Romney forces as a "backup man" should the Michigan governor falter in his bid for the GOP presidential nomination. At least, so say liberal columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, who also report that these Romney forces feel Westmoreland is the only man who could unite the GOP for the 1968 campaign.

WESTMORELAND

Here's how the GOP liberals reason it: The Viet Nam war will still be plodding along by 1968, with President Johnson necessarily on the defensive; thus the war will be the dominant issue in the campaign. So what could be better than a war hero fresh from battle to return home and defeat LBJ?

Actually, this Westmoreland-for-President talk reveals some curious thinking on the part of these Romney forces, who are more or less headed by Chase Manhattan Bank chairman David Rockefeller. (Nelson's brother visited Saigon recently and came away "highly impressed" with the South Carolina-born general.)

It is very significant that these Romney forces would even have second thoughts about the possibility that their man would stumble. It is also noteworthy that these liberals, who represent the "dove" element in the GOP, would, in order to find a winner, turn to a general who, like most of his military colleagues, probably leans to the conservative side. Westmoreland's political views are, of course, almost completely unknown since he seems to follow Gen. George Marshall's advice to stay out of politics.

Even if Westmoreland changed his mind, however, and decided he was interested in the GOP nomination, it is problematical whether he could be cast in the role of a returning war hero. As Evans and Novak quite correctly point out, "no general not fresh from a great military triumph has ever been elected President."

If the jungle war is still in progress by 1968, he can hardly return home as a conquering war hero (as did Grant and Eisenhower). Should the war be brought to a successful conclusion, LBJ will get the credit for it, not Westmoreland.

These party liberals think that Westmoreland could come back and run on a campaign pledge to "finish the war" rather than as a victorious general. Westmoreland, however, would then invariably be tagged with the same "drop-the-Bomb" label which was so effectively hung on Barry Goldwater's neck. This, coupled with a total lack of civilian or political experience, makes the desirability of a Westmoreland candidacy somewhat questionable.

However, stranger things have happened in American politics. If he were to publicly break with Johnson over the conduct of the war and accuse the President of wasting the lives of American boys, his appeal to many would be enormous. Certainly the Westmoreland-for-President talk is not going to die a quick and quiet death.

• Another interesting side to this speculation is the fact that LBJ's man in Saigon and the person most responsible for carrying out the President's political program there is Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge. It was liberal Republican Lodge who supposedly went to Paris and recruited Ike for the GOP 1952 nomination. Unless Lodge resigns, however, Westmoreland, as a candidate, would have an almost impossible task in trying to carve out a distinctly Republican position on Viet Nam. Thus, if anything is to come of the Westmoreland talk, Lodge's actions will probably be the tip-off.

Clark's 'Peace Bloc'

Plans to forge a bi-partisan "peace action bloc" in the 90th Congress are now under way. The newly formed Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL) has opened Washington offices and is raising funds for its $25,000-a-year operating budget from wealthy peaceniks throughout the country.

Joan McKinney, a former executive director of the Philadelphia Area Council of the United World Federalists, heads the Washington staff at a salary of $12,000 a year. She hopes to line up a "minimum of 100" congressional sponsors by February.

MCPL, which is patterned after the ultra-liberal Democratic Study Group, is the brainchild of Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.). Clark is chairman of the steering committee, which includes senatorial colleagues Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.), Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.), Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) and George McGovern (D.-S.D.). Clark says the group seeks "peace through general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law."

• A leading Pennsylvania Democrat, State Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, last week accused Clark of giving "aid and comfort to our Communist enemies." Musmanno noted that Clark, while junketing recently in Greece, attacked U.S. foreign policy and called the Viet Nam war "stupid and wasteful."

"This brutal characterization has given aid and comfort to our Communist enemies and has struck dismay into the hearts of our allies," Musmanno said. "I wonder what must be the feeling of the mothers and fathers of [American servicemen killed in Viet Nam] when the Pennsylvania senator says

McNamara Reprints Available

Gen. Thomas A. Lane's searching article on U.S. defense policies, "McNamara According to Burnham: Not Quite the Gospel" which appeared in our December 10 issue, has stirred such interest among our readers that we are now offering reprints. They may be obtained by using the coupon on page 10.

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that their boys have been killed uselessly and stupidly."

• Sen. Clark is also waging a vigorous campaign to win the important post of secretary of the Democratic Conference, a minor Senate leadership post. His two opponents are Fred Harris (Okla.) and Robert Byrd (W. Va.). Clark, a dove on Viet Nam and a vigorous critic of the way the Senate is presently run, has already wired or telephoned every Democratic colleague for support.

Paying for Court's Decision

The brutal murder of a 62-year-old Baltimore man was described last week by Maryland State's Attorney Charles E. Moylan Jr. as a "very vivid illustration of the price we are paying" for recent Supreme Court decisions favoring professional criminals.

Moylan referred specifically to the high court's *Miranda* ruling, which virtually banned the use of confessions in criminal proceedings. It was the *Miranda* decision that invalidated the conviction and 40-year jail term of George McChan, a professional gunman who had conducted a series of armed robberies throughout the Baltimore area.

McChan's conviction was overturned in October. Criminal Court Judge Joseph L. Carter was bitter, asserting that the high court ruling forced him to "foist a professional holdup man on the public."

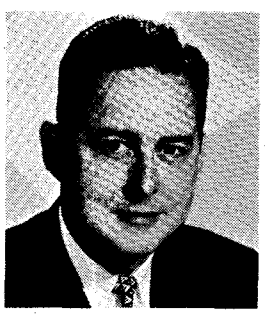
On December 21 two gunmen walked into a Baltimore tavern shortly before closing. They shot manager Albert Polland, 62, through the head as he knelt in front of his safe from which he had just given the bandits the day's receipts.

A barmaid, Viola Forrester, 34, was shot twice in the head. Although she was seriously wounded, she remained conscious and furnished police a description of the two holdup men. McChan was arrested later that day and charged with homicide.

McChan, a native of Godwin, N.C., was first sentenced to prison in 1948 in North Carolina for breaking and entering and larceny. He was sentenced in 1955 to four to six years in Connecticut State Prison at Wethersford for robbery and given an additional one to three years for stabbing a fellow inmate. Connecticut authorities considered him so dangerous they had him transferred to Alcatraz in 1958 for reasons of "security and control."

New Test Ban Danger

A top congressional expert warned last week that the United States was walking into "a national security trap" by offering to extend the present limited nuclear test ban treaty. Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.), ranking minority House member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, disclosed that a recent U.S. experiment firmly established the possibility of "undetected cheating" by the Soviets or other signatories to the pact.



HOSMER

Hosmer referred to Project Sterling, an experiment conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission in early December in a Mississippi salt dome. A small atomic device with a force equal to about 350 tons of TNT was detonated in a 110-foot hole that had been blasted in the dome.

The experiment "definitely demonstrated" that underground nuclear tests can be hidden through what the scientists term decoupling. This is the isolation of much of the shock of an underground explosion by conducting it in a large cavity. Explosive shock waves are cut off from the surrounding earth by the presence of a dampening air barrier.

Resulting shock waves are dramatically reduced and thus do not register on the seismic equipment designed to detect clandestine underground tests.

Project Sterling, says Hosmer, establishes beyond question that low-yield (under 20 kiloton) explosions could be carried out in defiance of a test ban.

The California lawmaker urged the Administration to withdraw its offer to extend the present pact. He argued that "a large hole for cheating" has developed and cannot be closed, even by the Administration's proposals for a worldwide seismic network and on-site inspection of suspected test ban violations.

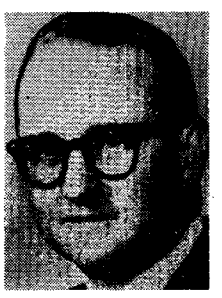
"Cheating was the contingency which caused us to refuse to include underground tests in the treaty in the first place," Hosmer concluded. "Now that undetectable cheating has been proved even more possible than before believed, there is more reason than ever to stay away from this kind of national security trap."

Correction

• *In our December 24 discussion (page 3) of the Governors Conference, we reported that liberal columnist Roscoe Drummond was frequently needled by "his brother, Jeff," about the hit Ronald Reagan was making. Geoffrey Drummond is the columnist's son, not his brother. We apologize for the error.*

How to Win Elections

New Mexico's newly elected governor, Republican David F. Cargo, is usually characterized as a party "moderate," but conservatives can learn much from his amazing campaign.



CARGO

The 37-year-old Cargo spent but $14,000 and got along with almost no radio or television advertising. He used billboards only in the last week of the campaign and relied on a volunteer organization to offset his shortage of funds. As William J. Eaton of the Chicago *Daily News* has noted, Cargo's "campaign techniques were unorthodox but effective—and cheap." Examples:

• Letters to the editor. Volunteers wrote thousands of letters plugging their candidate and as many as three and four a day were printed in the Albuquerque papers.

• Radio phone-in programs. Supporters called in to voice praise of Cargo, sometimes buying a $5 spot ad for this purpose. Cargo himself often walked into radio and television stations to offer an interview—and was taken up on it—while his Democratic opponent, T. E. Lusk, was buying air time.

• Newsworthy and inventive campaigning. Cargo's motto was "Never rent the back page of a newspaper when you can get the front page for free."

LBJ Gets Some Lumps

Lyndon Johnson has been given an incredible vote of "no confidence" by the leaders of his own party. Forty-three per cent of the Democratic pros interviewed by the New York *Times* refused to endorse his renomination; 17 per cent bluntly said the party would be better off nominating someone else.

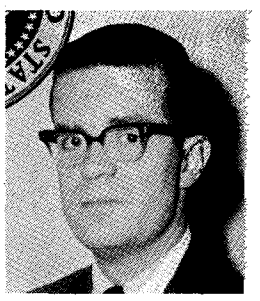
Those questioned included state officials, Democratic state chairmen, members of the Democratic National Committee, and candidates for major office in the last election, both successful and unsuccessful. Many of the Democrats who did back Johnson's renomination were fatalistic.

"We are in real trouble if the war is not over," said a Midwesterner. "We as a party have to stick by him in this and maybe we will just have to take a bath."

Those polled by the *Times* were assured anonymity. But other prominent Democrats are speaking out publicly on the very real possibility of an LBJ defeat in 1968.

Democratic Govs. Warren Hearnes of Missouri and Roger Branigin of Indiana have suggested that LBJ not run again. Democratic Gov.-elect Robert Docking of Kansas, a state Johnson carried in 1964, says candidly that LBJ could not do so today.

One of the most pessimistic appraisals, now circulating in top Democratic circles, was written by former White House aide Theodore Sorensen. The Sorensen analysis begins:



SORENSEN

"We have to assume today that George Wallace will run as a third party candidate and carry most, if not all, of the Southern states. . . . We have to assume today that the Republican ticket. . . will win back to their party's column most, if not all, the smaller, traditionally Republican states of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountain regions."

If these assumptions are correct, Sorensen says the Democrats must carry at least two, and probably all five of the five largest states, if they are to retain the presidency. Four of these states—California, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania—elected GOP governors in November, and the fifth, Illinois, sent a Republican senator to Washington.

"Even with all five of those states, we could not be sure of winning without Michigan, Massachusetts New Jersey and Wisconsin, all of which went Republican this year," Sorensen adds. "The fact is that there is not now a single state in the Union which can be counted on as safe for the Democrats in 1968—not Texas with its Republican senator, or Rhode Island with its Republican governor, or Georgia, which went Republican last time."

Frank Chodorov

Human Events and the conservative movement mourn the death last week of Frank Chodorov, one of the country's outstanding libertarian philosophers. Mr. Chodorov, who was 79, was associated with this newspaper almost from its start and in recent years had been a contributing editor. One article he wrote for *Human Events* in 1950, "For Our Children's Children," met with particularly favorable reception and was the central force behind the founding of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists less than two years later.

Also a contributing editor to *National Review*, an editor of *Fragments*, and a former editor of the *Freeman*, Mr. Chodorov was the author of many books. Perhaps best known among them is his *Income Tax: The Root of All Evil*, which was published by Devin-Adair in 1954 and is now in its third edition. His last book, *Out of Step*, came out in 1962.

In these volumes and in his other books and magazine articles, Mr. Chodorov brilliantly expounded what might be called his "hard-line" libertarian philosophy. Always something of a delightful radical, he felt that no special good could come from government action and always looked to the private sector to solve the country's domestic problems.

How he saw his own role is well summarized in these words from a 1955 *Human Events* article: " . . . If the trend toward collectivism is to be stopped, it will be stopped only by the force of contrary concepts. Right action can only follow right thought.

"A people who do not know what freedom is are not in shape to make a fight for it, and it is a truism to say that the American mind has been well cleansed of the philosophy of freedom. Since the advent of the New Deal, which was made possible by previous indoctrination in socialism, the idea that the individual is nothing and that the political machinery is endowed with suprapersonal qualities and capacities has been assiduously stressed in our press, in our textbooks, from the platform and, most particularly, in the propaganda issued by the government itself. Under the circumstances, those who were born since 1932 have had little opportunity to come in contact with the opposite philosophy. . . .

"The principal job of those who are convinced that freedom is best, and that government intervention is a prelude to slavery, is to counteract the prevalent indoctrination."

And counteract Mr. Chodorov did. The growth of the conservative movement in the last 20 years, especially on the campuses, owes a great debt to his writings. He will be sorely missed, but we do have his words as a valuable legacy.

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History May Show Reds Won Cold War in 1966

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

"By the end of the year 1966 the cold war was over and the Soviet Union had won."

This, I believe, may well be the conclusion of historians of free countries, if any such remain, looking back on the world situation 20 years from now.

For evidence one need only read the communique issued after its annual winter meeting by the North Atlantic Council of NATO. With one not too significant exception, the council decided to give the Kremlin everything it has struggled and intrigued for over the last 21 years: silent recognition of its wartime conquests and of the Communist regimes imposed on unwilling neighboring countries (no more talk of liberation); Germany's acknowledgement that it has no right to seek reunification by force (as the North did in the American Civil War); more economic contracts (trade) and general thaw between East and West; and finally, implicitly but surely, Moscow's right to continue its basic policy of undermining the West politically and spreading communism by propaganda, intrigue, subversion and little wars of liberation with no fear of armed reprisals by NATO.

To make all this clear to the Kremlin-men, the NATO foreign ministers specifically refused to concentrate their combined power behind a single policy toward East Europe; thus, at the instigation of France and Britain, allowing the Warsaw countries to continue their highly successful policy of disintegrating the Western alliance.

To be sure, Secretary Rusk did mumble a warning that NATO must still remain in being and the ministers created a seven-state strategical planning group. But in view of the prevailing policy the group will have nothing serious to plan.

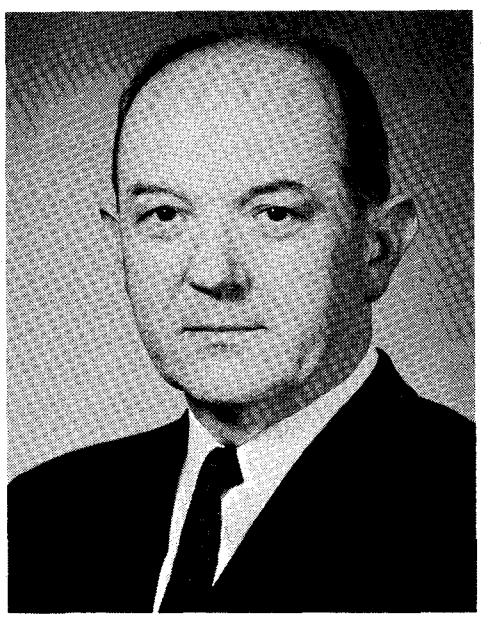
Rarely too in history has a potentially stronger alliance so supinely capitulated to a weaker enemy.

If this were not enough, the stronger alliance seeks to strengthen its enemy. The latest move in this disconcerting effort is President Johnson's decision to "exchange management knowledge with the Soviet Union and other advanced societies" (quotation from the New York *Times*).

If realized, this will help the Soviet Union to step up, among others, its armament and nuclear establishments, while contributing nothing. In the field of management, Communist countries have nothing to offer.

This is part of a general Western policy of seeking safety through loving-kindness. As Germany's former chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, remarked, "Only the dumbest calves choose their own butcher."

Seeking reasons why the potentially preponderant West capitulated to an aggressive and evil despotism, those future historians will note several factors. Most obvious is the overwhelming fear of nuclear war enthusiastically propagated by "better-Red-than dead" nuclear scientists, professors, churchmen and other appeasers—which has now become the dogma of millions of young people.



Although Secretary of State Dean Rusk has paid lip service to the need for NATO, the alliance is crumbling.

Another factor is the war-weariness of the devastated and overstrained European democracies, particularly acute under Socialist rule. This is similar to the fatigue that brought Britain and France to the verge of ruin in the '30s.

A third motive behind the Western surrender (for a surrender it is) had been indicated in advance by Lenin—capitalist greed. Western businessmen drool at the mouth at the prospect of more trade with their country's enemies. A striking example is Khrushchev's friend, the Canadian-boom industrialist Cyrus Eaton, author of those Pugwash conferences with Bolsheviks at which the latter successfully brainwash their American counterparts.

Yet the decisive cause of the West's surrender to a weaker adversary who makes no bones of his intention of "burying" us may well be the American people's pathological antipathy to using their power to create the kind of world they want.

It was not lack of power but lack of will that allowed the Soviet Union to lay a Communist paw on Eastern Europe, permitted local Reds with Soviet help to seize China and helped Castro to subjugate Cuba. Even while talking liberation, Eisenhower, when the Hungarians took him at his word, looked the other way. Kennedy ratted at the Bay of Pigs and supinely promised not to oust Castro from Cuba.

JFK also launched the policy of "building bridges" to those who would destroy us (Moscow has just sent a hundred more fighter planes to North Viet Nam).

Finally Johnson, misadvised by the same appeasers, and ably seconded by Charles de Gaulle and Harold Wilson, has passively agreed to call off the cold war, leaving the enemy in possession of his gains.

So unless the Kremlin makes the mistake of indulging in some new insupportable aggression, the Western peoples may look forward to being nibbled to death—unless they can revive the once unconquerable will to live.

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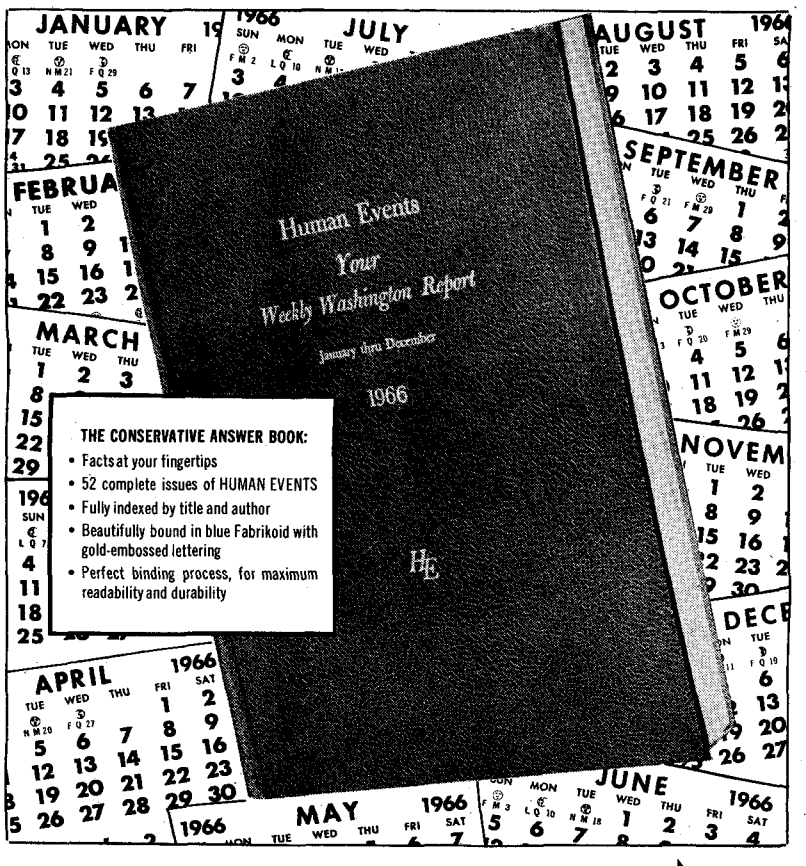
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U.S. Reds Have Three-Prong Plan to Exploit Viet Nam War

Ways to fan 'peace sentiment' discussed at secret meeting of party's national committee

From the Allen-Scott Report

The top leaders of the Communist party of the United States are launching a three-pronged program to exploit the Viet Nam war for the purpose of "making the party a stronger voice and arm of world communism."

With this aim, they are undertaking to:

• Instigate and collaborate with pacifist, student, church and other elements to stage "mass demonstrations" against the conflict.

• Create a *cause celebre* of the so-called "Ft. Hood Three"—the three Army privates court-martialed on charges of refusing to obey orders to go to Viet Nam. In this scheme, the Communists will "seek to develop a mass crusade against the Army for convicting the three men, and the United States for being involved in Viet Nam."

• Join with pacifists and others to promote a third party "peace candidate" in the 1968 presidential race.

These potentially far-reaching policies were formally agreed on at an unpublicized meeting of the party's new National Committee in New York City. The 80-member committee was elected in June at the U.S. party's 18th national convention. It was the first session of the committee.

Its next meeting will take place in June 1967 at a location still to be determined.

Gus Hall, general secretary and boss of the party, presided at this meeting. He had recently returned from a three-month trip to Russia and other Communist countries.

Communist party general secretary Gus Hall (top) and national chairman Henry Winston have urged greater Red participation in "peace and civil rights" demonstrations and in the various radical Negro movements.

At great length, Hall harangued the committee on "U.S. imperialist aggression" in Viet Nam, and held this was the cause of all the country's economic, political, racial and other problems and difficulties. He sternly enjoined all Communists to actively participate in "all protests against the Administration's policy in Viet Nam, and to combine the peace campaign with activities in behalf of civil rights."

"Black Power," the explosive slogan of Negro activists, was endorsed with "some reservations" by another lengthy spieler.

Henry Winston, national chairman, proposed that while the Communists should "accept" the "Black Power" slogan with reservations, they should advocate use of what he described as a better one—"Negro-white unity." He also urged more extensive Communist participation in Negro movements, particularly in labor and community action organizations.

Carl Winter, editor of the party's paper, *The Worker*, broke the doleful news that it is in serious financial straits and urgently in need of $100,000 to pay pressing debts.

After extended discussion the National Committee voted to give the job of raising this sum to the party's district organizations throughout the country, with an eight-week time limit to submit reports on what they would do. Each district also was directed to put this responsibility in the hands of one official.

Characteristic of Communist practice, the National Committee set up a national board of 20 members which will really exercise control of the party under Hall.

This small inner group will meet every two months to act on policy and finances.

★ ★ ★

Stepping in where first termers usually fear to tread is becoming a habit with Sen. Robert Kennedy.

The junior senator from New York has decided to try for the chairmanship of the influential Senate Democratic Campaign Committee—a major agency for raising electioneering funds.

In phone calls and backstage meetings, Kennedy is busily soliciting support of Democratic colleagues to succeed Sen. Warren Magnuson (D.-Wash.).

A close personal friend of President Johnson, Magnuson is relinquishing the chairmanship preparatory to seeking a fifth term in 1968. Under long-standing custom this politically important party office is not held by a member facing a re-election contest.

Backstage word that Kennedy is after the job has led several strong Senate supporters of the President to try to persuade Magnuson to take the unprecedented step of holding on to the chairmanship. But Magnuson has shown no inclination to take this unusual action.

For one thing, it's very questionable whether he could get away with it. An attempt by him to retain the chairmanship would unquestionably precipitate a bitter factional clash among Senate Democrats, as Kennedy's ardent supporters would be sure to oppose it.

There also has been some covert talk about asking the President to personally intercede with Magnuson. But that's deemed very unlikely, as such meddling in purely Senate affairs would be hotly resented.

As a one-time member of the Senate, Johnson presumably is acutely aware of

Bobby Kennedy is trying to become chairman of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, an important agency for political fund raising.

the chamber's traditional vehement hostility toward any outside interference in its internal activities. So it's highly improbable the President will in any way attempt to intrude into this situation, or that Magnuson will try to hold on to the chairmanship.

Robert Kennedy's latest political ambition faces vigorous challenge by two other influential senators.

Senators Vance Hartke of Indiana, who headed the Democratic Campaign Committee from 1959 to 1963, and Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, chairman of the Public Works Committee, are sounding out colleagues for backing.

Hartke is seeking the support of Democratic leader Mike Mansfield, of Montana, and Democratic Whip Russell Long, of Louisiana, one of the newer powers in the Senate. Sen. Randolph, close friend of Vice President Humphrey, is concentrating on Western and Southern Senators in his electioneering.

In making his bid for the campaign committee chairmanship, Kennedy is following in the footsteps of former Sen. Barry Goldwater. Whether or not Kennedy is aware of this, the fact is that Goldwater pursued exactly this course in 1958 before he made his successful race for the 1964 Republican presidential nomination.

Although a first termer, Goldwater sought and won the chairmanship of the Republican Campaign Committee. In this position he was a widely sought speaker at state and local fund-raising and other events. After leaving the Senate the Arizonan credited his campaign committee chairmanship as having played a key role in winning the presidential nomination.

Apparently Kennedy is following the same strategy in pursuing his well-known White House ambitions.

★ ★ ★

Vice President Hubert Humphrey is still trying to find out what happened in the recent election and why.

William Connell, his administrative assistant, and Max Kampelman, 46-year-old lawyer and banker and long-time close supporter of Humphrey, held a seminar in the office of another Washington lawyer on the reasons for the Democrats' heavy election losses and measures to offset them.

The vice president did not personally take part in these backstage discussions. But those who attended were told the talks were being held with his blessing.

Among those who put in a brief appearance was H. W. Brawley, of South Carolina, who quit as deputy postmaster general in 1962 after a clash with Postmaster General Edward Day. Brawley took a job with the Democratic National Committee, but left after the 1964 election. He is now the Washington representative of several corporations.

Like others who showed up at this curious seminar, Brawley expressed himself baffled as to what it was all about. From their accounts, the proceedings did not clear up the mystery.

Kampelman has long harbored judicial ambitions, although he has never tried a case in court. He and his law partners are registered under the Lobbyist Registration Act. They are particularly active in handling the affairs of Indian tribes.

In World War II Kampelman was a conscientious objector. Now he is a major in the Marine Corps reserve. Before and during the 1964 Democratic National Convention, Kampelman was very active in behalf of Humphrey.

★ ★ ★

Neither of Pennsylvania's senatorial aspirants for important party jobs will have any luck. Sen. Joseph Clark, who wants to be secretary of the Senate Democratic Conference, doesn't have a chance to be elected; and neither does Sen. Hugh Scott, who wants to be chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee. Senate Republican leader Everett Dirksen has privately turned thumbs-down on Scott and the prize will go to Sen. George Murphy, even though he's a first-termer.

★ ★ ★

New White House press secretary George Christian isn't the only member of his family who will be working for the government. His wife, Jo Anne, an attorney, will do legal research for a government agency starting next month. Mrs. Christian won her law degree from the University of Texas in 1962, and has done legal work for Texas state agencies.

★ ★ ★

Latest inside White House word is that the President's long-awaited decision on the multi-billion-dollar supersonic airliner will be forthcoming in January. There is no hint as to what it will be.

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A TAXING QUESTION—"What two documents," asked the teacher, "have contributed most to our government?" A student answered immediately: "Forms 1040 and 1040A."—From the Huntingburg (Ind.) *Independent*

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Outlook for 1968

Labor Scoffs at Reports LBJ Won't Run

Powerful machinery already set up for re-electing Johnson-Humphrey

By VICTOR RIESEL

Far too many chance-taking clairvoyants are beginning to write the early chapters of a saga called the unmaking of a President.

None of these chroniclers have conferred with Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey recently. Those who did in the past few weeks—especially the nation's most influential labor leaders—have come away convinced that the President plans to run again in 1968—and with "Hubert." And as evidence the labor leaders cite two hitherto undisclosed meetings called quite privately by the President in Washington and the vice president in New York.

One of those off-the-record sessions was held in the President's own office on Friday, December 16—the day crowded with hard discussions with the Indian ambassador and de-briefings of Ambassador Lodge. Through the "back door" that Friday—unobserved by the newsmen—came AFL-CIO president George Meany, and as bright a political braintrust as any force has put together in this pluralistic society.

With Mr. Labor were Lane Kirkland, the movement's intellectual resource; Andy Biemiller, ex-Wisconsin congressman who can easily vie with Mr. Johnson in his knowledge of the Hill; and Al Barkan, the perpetual-motion director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

They talked for quite awhile about the Republican landslide. They gabbed as friends and political allies. And not for a moment was there any doubt that they would be in a tightly knit political phalanx come 1968.

For the moment their conversation is off the record. But there certainly is a distinct feeling in that concentration of political scientists that the national elections would have gone far worse for the Democratic coalition if it were not for what COPE did—the money and power and telephone squads and auto caravans and printing and computers and at least 10 million pieces of direct mailing.

Fact is, the labor leaders feel privately that they saved their allies from political devastation. The Democratic party, they have pointed out, was split in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California.

Elsewhere the Democratic machine just didn't function. Labor's machinery did. Something went wrong out in the precincts and the labor leaders plan to learn just what did.

For three days in January (23 to 26) labor's best political brains and operational men will go into retreat in an Atlantic City, N.J., hotel. They'll dissect the election results. They will see if it was backlash, frontlash, youth, loss of identity or just breakdown in organization and education of the younger people which lost for them.

Out of this session of some 30 men drawn in from all over the land, Barkan and his colleagues will prepare a detailed action program for the midwinter AFL-CIO Executive Council session in Bal Harbour, Fla. From then on, the powerful labor movement—realizing the big national conventions are less than a year and a half away—will hit high gear in the precincts—and as an ally of the Johnson and Humphrey ticket.

Certainly the sentiment is for Humphrey. He is their friend, and they make it clear they'll buck any effort to displace him—and that includes Bob Kennedy.

The labor men "love" Humphrey for what he did in New York the other week. Without publicity and with care to avoid newsmen, the vice president hosted a luncheon for "the losers" of the last campaign. He invited them to a New York hotel. There he placed Sen. Paul Douglas on one side of himself and Sen. A. Willis Robertson of Virginia on the other.

In the group were Oregon's Robert Duncan, who lost to Gov. Hatfield; Harold Cooley, of North Carolina, and even Georgia's Charles Weltner, who quit as a protest against Lester Maddox.

The spirit was high. So was the cheering. At the end Paul Douglas arose and said:

"Mr. Vice President, I want you to know that I speak for all of us here, that our host this afternoon is one of the great men of our century. Keep your running shoes on. I'm too old, but you and you fellows keep your running shoes on. . . . You know, we members of Congress are used to having parties thrown us when we win and it makes my heart feel good to see this happen when we lose."

This was in reply to the opening words from Mr. Humphrey, who brought the "losers" the personal greeting of President Johnson.

There were mighty few of those in the room who intimated they would throw away their running shoes or that they did not expect to be running alongside Johnson and Humphrey. The vice president spoke of the gathering in great detail when he met later with the same labor leaders who were responsible for the late John Kennedy's victory in New York back in '60.

They, too, are readying for the big race in 1968—with Johnson and Humphrey.

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COPE director Al Barkan is not about to throw in the towel because of large conservative gains last fall.

□ □ □

N.Y.-Moscow Express

From the Arizona *Republic*

Beginning in the spring, travelers to Russia will be able to step aboard Aeroflot airline in New York and begin a direct flight to Moscow. This agreement, worked out through the highest governmental levels, is said to be one more indication of the thaw in East-West relations.

But before boarding that New York-Moscow express, we think passengers might do well to consider the experience of American citizen Vladimir Kazan-Komarek, currently imprisoned in a jail in Prague because he made the mistake of flying on a Soviet plane.

Kazan-Komarek, a Czech-born naturalized citizen of the United States, was invited to Moscow by Intourist, the Soviet state tourist agency. He accepted the invitation last October, viewed all the usual tourist attractions, then boarded an Aeroflot plane for Paris.

But the plane made an unscheduled stop in Prague, because—say the Soviets—of mechanical problems. As chance would have it (or so the Soviets would have us believe), Mr. Kazan-Komarek was arrested by Czech police who accused him of murder and treason allegedly committed more than 10 years ago. And today he languishes in jail.

Does the blame rest with the Soviets and Czechs, who obviously conspired to trap Mr. Kazan-Komarek? Does it rest with the victim himself, for ever thinking he could trust Soviet assurances?

Or does it rest with those Americans who have lost no opportunity to assure us that the Communist system is evolving toward freedom, that its days of duplicity—which many of these same people never acknowledged—are ended?

Most likely, blame rests with all of them. Meanwhile, however, another victim joins the long line of American citizens rotting in Communist jails for alleged crimes.

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Nov. 22, 1963: Bobby and Jackie return from Dallas.

April 1966: Mrs. Kennedy (left), vacations in Argentina with the children.

Has Jacqueline Kennedy Exhausted Public Sympathy?

By VERA GLASER

Rightly or wrongly, the widow of the late President Kennedy has been billed as a kind of American "queen" and it is possible she believes the adulatory publicity that surrounds her.

The tough line Jackie took over the manuscript she hired William Manchester to write and her apparent willingness to parade the "shame and guilt of Dallas" once more before a surfeited nation is causing some to take a fresh look at the former first lady.

Her behavior since the tragic assassination of her husband, a beloved President, is being scrutinized. She is being weighed in the balance with other distinguished widows of modern times and in some respects found wanting.

The brutal shock and anguish this lovely young woman suffered when her husband was murdered before her eyes is never far from the public consciousness. It has served to wrap her in a special aura. The nation's heart has gone out to her in love, sympathy and protectiveness. Reams have been written applauding her courage.

Meanwhile, it is worth noting that since Nov. 22, 1963, more than 6,000 Americans have met violent death in Viet Nam. Like John F. Kennedy, these men were young, stalwart, full of dreams and promise.

Their mutilated remains have been shipped back in aluminum cases to grieving widows, most of whom are not beautiful and wealthy. Their courage as they struggle to rear children without fathers, cope with finances, pay mortgages and hunt jobs has gone largely unsung.

Bravely, they try not to look back.

'Professional Martyr'

For her part, Jackie has roamed the pleasure spots of the world where she continues to be accorded first-lady treatment. The great and near-great—and that includes the Lyndon Johnsons—have walked on eggs, inconveniencing themselves mightily to avoid offending her sensibilities.

More than a year ago, after a summer of tennis and swimming at Cape Cod and Newport, Jackie was reported in tip-top shape by her longtime friend, artist William Walton. "She has her old pizzazz back," he told this reporter. Other friends said she was managing to discuss her late husband again in casual, light-hearted conversation.

The current controversy, she must know, serves to revive the sadness and pain, to prolong the nation's trauma and her own. Nevertheless, she seems bent on treating a chapter of U.S. history as her private memoir and if necessary to weather a nasty legal slug fest to make it stick.

Is Mrs. Kennedy abusing the veneration in which she and the late President are held by placing selfish preferences above the American people's right to know? Some say she is.

Former admirers are beginning to call her a "professional martyr."

When Franklin D. Roosevelt died in 1945, his widow Eleanor observed a decent period of mourning, then returned to public life, working tirelessly for the less fortunate. Perhaps no first lady in history endured as much ridicule and vilification. She bore it with sweetness and dignity.

In the early '50s, after the death of Britain's King George VI, the queen mother no longer occupied the throne but continued her service to the commonwealth, undertaking tiresome ceremonial chores and arduous trips to Australia and the United Nations.

Maurine Neuberger carried on her late husband's work by winning election to his Senate seat and serving with distinction.

None of these women, so far as is known, attempted to control what historians wrote about their husbands.

Mrs. Kennedy opted for *la dolce vita*—the world of high fashion, society and the arts. While pointedly snubbing Mrs. Johnson's invitations to the White House, Jackie has accepted every official prerogative available to her.

Some say she is enjoying them beyond a reasonable "statute of limitations."

Her late husband left a $10-million estate, but she draws a federal widow's pension of $833 per month, for which she applied shortly after the assassination.

She has not hesitated to call on the White House staff for protocol and seating advice for private parties in her New York apartment, staffed by two maids, a cook and an English governess. Sometimes she is chauffeured by one of 10 Secret Servicemen who work around the clock to protect her and the children.

In 1964 Jackie did not bother to vote for Lyndon Johnson, although his popularity in the South provided the winning margin which elevated her husband to the presidency.

The excuse repeatedly given for avoiding the White House is the painful memories such a visit might revive. But no one doubts that if a stroke of fate placed Sen. Robert Kennedy there tomorrow, Jackie would be part of the joyful reunion.

Of course, if Mrs. Kennedy remarries, her special status as the world's most celebrated widow would evaporate, but she has given no sign that she wants to change that status.

Her assistant, wealthy Mrs. Pamela Turnure Timmins, also on the federal payroll, encourages the belief that Jackie devotes her life to her children. While her love for and rapport with the youngsters is apparent, she obviously has no sitter problem.

Censored History

She sees most of Broadway's hit plays, concerts, movies and ballets. She has fun at discotheques. Recently she was photographed in a miniskirt dashing gaily out of a fashionable restaurant.

Jackie has jaunted to Palm Beach, the Virginia hunt country and Antigua. She has skiied at Stowe, Aspen, Lake Placid and Sun Valley, vacationed at Acapulco, cruised up Yugoslavia's breath-taking Dalmation coast on the yacht "Radiant" with oil millionaire Charles Wrightsman and his wife.

She has lounged with her sister Lee in a Borghese family villa at fabled Porto Ercole, lunched with the Dutch royal family and taken tea with Queen Elizabeth. Wearing a dashing habit, she rode in a Spanish fiesta. She has hidden away at a fabulous Argentine ranch and vacationed with Caroline and John in Hawaii.

In the shock and grief following the assassination, the stampede to name, rename and dedicate schools, roads, airports, highways and outer space launching pads in memory of John F. Kennedy reached embarrassing proportions.

That such excesses may have been "tasteless" (the ultimate in Kennedy-cult opprobrium) and that the family should have called a halt, apparently did not occur to Jackie.

The government has budgeted $50,000 a year for her office, an unmarked suite at 400 Park Avenue in New York City which the public is not permitted to enter. (Last April she said it could be cut by $20,000.) She has lifetime free mailing privileges. Her correspondence has dwindled mostly to matters concerning the Kennedy Memorial Library and the Center for the Performing Arts.

In the dispute over the Manchester book, Jackie said she was only trying to protect her children from needless pain. Regrettably, that is the one thing she must know she cannot do. Books, anthologies, films and libraries are overflowing with shattering reminders.

The Kennedys have made it tough for future historians who want a balanced view of the JFK Administration. The two major accounts now available were written by Theodore Sorensen (*Kennedy*) and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (*The Thousand Days*). Both books were read and corrected, if not actually censored, by the Kennedys.

Author Jim Bishop and others who hoped to write documented accounts found that Jackie had instructed all sources not to talk to them. Bobby Kennedy stirred resentment by treating the official autopsy pictures as his personal property and by harassing those known to be writing critical books about his late brother.

While John Kennedy's eloquence, good looks and quest for excellence generally are applauded, some do not subscribe to the adoring view his family strives to project.

Historians will have to dig deep to learn that JFK was a minority President, that he was the architect of the Bay of Pigs, that he made the pivotal shift from military advisers to combat troops in Viet Nam, that his program was stalled in Congress and his poll rating plunging at the time of his death.

Rather than a human being with foibles and frailties, they will find a deified myth, created largely by members of the Kennedy family.

That Mrs. Kennedy is concerned about her own image is apparent. She is said to object to portrayal of her personal reactions at the time of the assassination which Manchester based on taped interviews with her.

"She talked quite frankly about what it was like to be the wife of John Kennedy," said a source who had read portions of the book, "but I don't see how her words can embarrass her.

"Some of the details had to do with the tone of voice, the way she thought about him, what went through her mind as he lay dead. It was rather excruciating. It is a poignant, rather beautiful and very human story. Manchester writes like an angel.

"My own guess is that's part of it. Maybe it's too human. Maybe she wants to be remote and deified."

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Oswald a Crackpot? Columnist Says No

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

New Orleans:—Chief of Police Joseph I. Giarrusso reopened for this writer Lee Harvey Oswald's arrest file here. Step by step, Lt. Thomas A. Drake, chief of the Police Department Intelligence Division, led me through Oswald's entire New Orleans career.

Recently I wrote: "Surely Oswald knew that, whether Castro directed it or not, if he killed the President of the United States (a secret that Reds would most certainly keep) he would be an inside hero in the Havana hierarchy, and a hero for the first time in his life."

New Orleans, not Dallas, is the place to root out the truth about Lee Oswald. He was born here. He grew up here. He returned here with his Russian wife. This is where he distributed his circulars condemning our country and the President of the United States. Dallas was only his denouement.

Millions have been led to believe Oswald was a crackpot. Systematically shoveling out this nonsense has a purpose. But in a century of nonsense this is the greatest nonsense of all. Oswald was no more a crackpot than Police Chief Giarrusso himself. The current furor about William Manchester's *The Death of A President*, the rekindled controversy about the Dallas bullets, etc., only further distract our public from the correct picture of Oswald and the exact sequence of events that culminated in his crime.

Dates are vital in this. Yet their sequence is obscured within the size and diversity of the Warren Report. Its eight sections and 17 appendices divide the events in a way that makes the chronology unclear.

Here is the sequence of dates for you to ponder:

Lee Harvey Oswald sailed from New Orleans for Russia on Sept. 10, 1959. His Soviet career need not be repeated, except that on October 21 he told American Embassy officials that he was a dedicated Communist and confirmed in writing that "my allegiance is to the USSR."

Oswald came back to the United States on June 13, 1962, with his Russian wife, Marina Prusakova, and their child. They settled first in Fort Worth, Tex., and then here.

New Orleans police date Oswald's arrival in this city as April 24, 1963, the year of the assassination.

On June 3 he opened P. O. Box No. 30061 at the Lafayette Square Substation and included his alias of A. J. Hidell for the mail use of his pro-Communist Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

On August 9 Lt. William Gaillot arrested Oswald during a scuffle while demonstrating for Castro's cause.

By August 31 he had achieved enough local notoriety to debate on radio station WDSU. It was a self-portrait of a Red. A tape of this is easily available from the Information Council of the Americas, P. O. Box 53371, New Orleans.

On September 8, over Radio Havana, Castro bitterly denounced what he called U.S.-prompted raids on Cuba and stated: "The United States leaders would be in danger if they helped any attempt to do away with the leaders of Cuba."

On September 13 the Dallas *Times-Herald* announced that President Kennedy would visit the city November 22.

On September 25 Oswald left here by bus to obtain a Cuban transit visa at Castro's Mexico City embassy. There he presented New Orleans newspaper clippings about his pro-Castro activities, announced that he was a member of the Communist party, displayed his Russian work permit, Russian marriage certificate, a prepared statement of his qualifications as a dedicated Marxist and, even in the words of the Warren Report, "tried to curry favor."

Told that his visa could not be issued for several months, he left Mexico City October 2 for Fort Worth and Dallas.

On November 9 Oswald wrote his last letter to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, reporting on "my meetings with Comrade Kostin in the embassy, Mexico City." Again, the Warren Report agrees, the purpose was "to ingratiate himself."

On November 19 the Dallas newspapers announced the President's route.

On November 22, a few seconds after 12:30 p.m., Central Standard Time, Lee Harvey Oswald shot the President of the United States, leaving his wedding ring and his last $170 on the dresser at home before he went to work on the morning of this premeditated murder.

New Orleans Police Chief Giarrusso stated: "Anybody who calls Lee Oswald a crackpot simply does not know the truth. Sometimes I think the public has been brainwashed about him."

Born of a New Orleans mother and father, Oswald used an alias here. It was A. J. Hidell. "He said he chose it to rhyme with Fidel," Thomas A. Drake, director of the Police Intelligence Division, told me. This was the same alias Oswald ultimately used to purchase the assassination weapon.

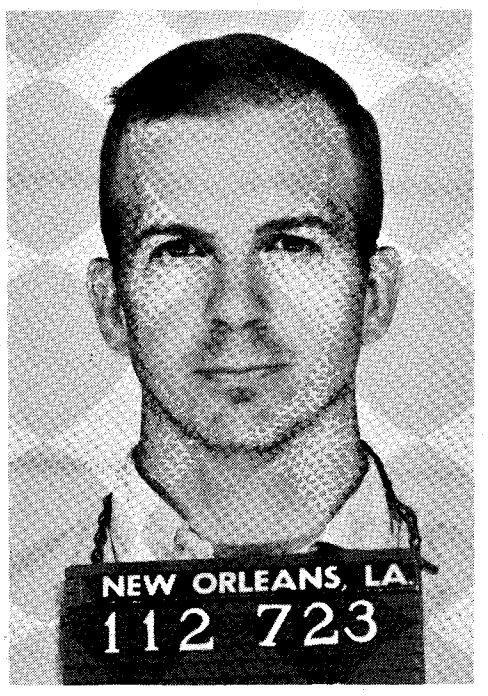
He sailed from New Orleans for Russia on Sept. 20, 1959, aboard the S. S. *Marion Lykes*. Oswald, five feet nine inches, 136 pounds, brown-eyed, brown-haired, ruddy and slender (the official New Orleans Police Department description under its Bureau of Identification docket No. 112-723) took off for the USSR only 11 days after being released from active duty in his Marine Corps air control squadron.

He was soon to write his brother, Robert, from Moscow: "In the event of war I would kill any American who put a uniform on in defense of the American government—any American."

Oswald stated to Travel Consultants, Inc., a travel bureau here, that he was leaving the country on a two-months pleasure trip. He presented U.S. passport No. 1733242, dated September 10, a forged smallpox vaccination certificate signed Dr. A. J. Hidell, P. O. Box 30061, New Orleans, La., and paid the firm $220.75 for his ticket. It read to Le Havre, France, and New Orleans immigration officers counted only four passengers aboard.

Oswald disembarked at Le Havre October 8, left for England that same day and reached London October 9. He claimed to Southampton customs officials that he was en route to the Albert Schweitzer College of Churwalden, Switzerland, and carried a valid registration receipt from the college for $25. But, within hours, Oswald flew to Helsinki, Finland.

The Russian consulate there gave him a visa (No. 403339) and he crossed the frontier at Vainikkala. Oswald arrived in Moscow October 16, and immediately declared his defection to the USSR. He attempted to renounce his U.S. citizenship to American Embassy Second Secretary Richard E. Snyder on October 21.



This is the New Orleans police department "mug shot" of Oswald which did not appear in the Warren Commission Report.

When Oswald returned to New Orleans with his Russian wife (April 24, 1963, seven months before the Dallas assassination), Police Chief Giarrusso credits New Orleans surgeon Alton Ochsner with being the first man to uncover Oswald's pro-Communist activities. Dr. Ochsner, founder and head of the Ochsner Medical Clinic, where I went to see him, is a world-traveled consultant to the surgeon general of the U.S. Air Force on the medical side of subversive matters.

An important and widely ignored point about "crackpot" Oswald is that nothing in his Marine medical record, after his childhood, finds him mentally unstable or otherwise psychologically unfit.

But Dr. Ochsner's firsthand impressions of Oswald's ideological pitch proved completely valid and led to a statement by Oswald to Police Lt. Francis L. Martello that "I refuse to speak English in my family because I do not want them to become Americanized."

This slip put Cuban exile expert Carlos Bringuier and Edward S. Butler, executive vice president of New Orleans' Information Council of the Americas, on Oswald's trail even before Oswald picketed the U.S.S. *Wasp* (June 16) at the Dumaine Street wharf.

These are the two men who confronted Oswald in his August 21 radio debate over Station WDSU, less than 100 days before the assassination. I found them utterly mystified and deeply concerned over the widespread whitewash of Oswald as a "crackpot."

"It makes you wonder whether the whole country hasn't gone crazy," said Director Drake, "when you see that kind of thing in print."

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Battle Warms Up Over Satellite Television

From the Indianapolis *Star*

A battle of the satellites is shaping up before the Federal Communications Commission. The issue is whether development and operation of a domestic communication satellite system shall be by a private, profit-making corporation or by some sort of bureaucracy.

Wrapped up in the issue is the question whether such a satellite system shall be operated purely as a commercial service or as a source of money to subsidize a system of non-commercial television.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Co. has filed with the FCC a proposal for a system of seven satellites to be used in mixture with land facilities to carry the load of its domestic telephone, telegraph, radio and television circuits. It envisions an investment of about $100 million in the next two years, about $340 million by 1980.

At almost the same time the Ford Foundation filed with the FCC a new set of arguments for its proposal for a domestic satellite system whose earnings would be used to sustain a system of "educational and instructional television"—ETV, for short. It proposes that the satellite system be owned and operated either by the government or by a nonprofit corporation.

The Ford Foundation added a bit of dramatic push to its plan by announcing a grant of $10 million for immediate development of ETV.

The foundation told the FCC that "People all over the country appear to be strongly stirred by the notion of a 'people's dividend'—that a part of the savings made possible by public investment in space should be dedicated, by national decision, to the high public purpose of effective non-commercial television."

This is news to us. That strong stirring among the people seems to have escaped our notice.

The idea of some sort of public dividend from the space investment has strong appeal, all right. The taxpayers' billions have been poured into the space program, and are still going in at the rate of about $5 billion a year. Tangible benefits to the public will certainly be welcome.

The question is whether the people would prefer to have that benefit in the form of ETV or in better and perhaps cheaper service for their regular television viewing and for their personal telephoning.

Proposals for educational television stations have been knocking around for a decade or more. Why does the Ford Foundation think a $10-million grant now is necessary to get ETV going? Why does it think annual subsidies in the tens of millions would be needed to keep it going? Simply because up to now there has not been any public demand for ETV.

The burden of proof certainly must rest with anyone who now claims that ETV is what the people want as their "dividend" on space expenditures.

A private corporation, operating a satellite communications system for profit, will be far more likely than a government bureaucracy to produce the kinds of services and benefits people want. It's inherent in the nature of the profit system that it produces what people want. There's no profit otherwise.

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Galbraith Revisited

By HENRY HAZLITT

By deriding the "conventional wisdom" of all "orthodox" economists and solemnly maintaining the opposite on every major proposition, John Kenneth Galbraith has built himself an easy reputation as an iconoclast and pathbreaker.

A truth repeated often enough becomes a truism, then a platitude, then a bore. When classical economists find themselves repeatedly forced to remind us that we will continue to have inflation as long as we indulge in budget deficits and in currency expansion, their admonitions are finally greeted with a yawn. When somebody comes along and starts standing everything on its head, his contradictions seem amusing and refreshing.

A paradox, of course, may have a grain of truth in it, like Oscar Wilde's witticism that "The only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield to it." There is also a grain of truth in Galbraith's belief that a business firm can "create the demand that it satisfies through product variation, advertising, sales strategy."

But the man or woman who followed Wilde's advice would court disaster; and the businessman who took Galbraith's theories seriously would soon go broke.

Advertising and sales strategy can influence demand only through a narrow range or at excessive cost. Ford's great flop, the Edsel, got tremendous promotion.

Yet Galbraith thinks that American consumers—that's you and me and everyone but him—are easily hypnotized boobs. He assures us that large business organizations can "get the kind of consumer behavior they want."

He neglects to tell us why he thinks people who are so gullible in their day-to-day acts should be trusted with the vote.

He goes on to assert: "Our view of what a motor car should be like is not something that is inherent—it is given to us by the automobile industry." He fails to explain why some models sell and others don't; why American manufacturers bother to offer two dozen or more makes in competition with each other, with an endless selection of colors and accessories; or why the consumer is offered scores of foreign makes.

If "the automobile industry" (presumably able to act as a unit) does not have to try to find what the consumer wants, but can dictate his choice to him, it is certainly putting itself to a lot of needless trouble and expense.

The foregoing quotations from Galbraith are in an interview with him published in the New York *Times Magazine*. The article takes his views quite solemnly and is entitled "The World Through Galbraith's Eyes." But every major theory he puts forward is wrong.

He tells us that "the private firm can fix minimum prices." Apparently he has never heard of the necessity of meeting competition.

He uses the word "planning" to cover both private planning and government planning, forgetting that coercive planning from the center must necessarily restrict or displace individual planning.

He insists that government wage and price guidelines are necessary to hold prices down, ignoring that it is government monetary inflation that has put the general price level up.

He thinks everyone should be guaranteed "a basic income," whether he is willing to work or not. He denies that this will "interfere with incentives."

Finally, in his praise of "the public sector" at the expense of "the private sector," he forgets that the public sector is completely parasitic on the private sector and has nothing to give or spend that it doesn't first take from the private sector.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

Nelson Rockefeller (left) and George Romney huddle at the Governors Conference at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. At one point Rocky was considered a shoo-in for '64 GOP nomination.

Romney in Trouble?

Straws in the Republican Wind

By RUSSELL KIRK

Gov. George Romney is much in the news. Governors were pleasant to him at the governors' conferences—although not excessively pleasant (no formal endorsements of his presidential-nomination candidacy). But being in the news doesn't mean that a party convention will nominate you for President, necessarily. Remember how much in the news Gov. Rockefeller was, in 1962?

In the Republican wind, certain straws are being blown about that bode Mr. Romney no good. Consider these hard facts:

• The one United States senator who has announced his presidential preference for Romney is Mr. Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania. Well, Sen. Scott wanted very much to become the liberal chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. But he's being rejected: apparently the winner will be conservative Sen. George Murphy, of California. The senatorial Republicans are growing more conservative, not less.

• The gentleman who has announced his eagerness to be the Republican nominee for the vice presidency—obviously teaming with Romney—is Sen. Jacob Javits, of New York. But Mr. Javits lost an election recently. He's still senator, of course; yet when he ran for the office of delegate to the approaching constitutional convention of New York, he was defeated by unknowns William Bensley and Frank Moore. Javits had been endorsed by Republicans and Liberals; Bensley and Moore, by Republicans and New York's Conservative party (which now is bigger than New York's Liberal party). If you can't be elected to attend a constitutional convention in Albany, you can't be sent to Washington as vice president.

• In Michigan, where Gov. Romney reigns, the state leaders of Young Americans for Freedom have endorsed a candidate for the Republican nomination, and are working for him. George Romney? Oh, no: Gov. Ronald Reagan, of California. A Michigan Youth for Reagan is being formed; a Michigan Republicans for Reagan already exists and is being joined by some active Young Republicans. Gov. Romney stands in no imminent danger of losing his own state's convention delegation, but I haven't heard that the California Young Americans for Freedom are espousing Romney.

• **People already are talking about that silly New Hampshire primary. Those in the know say that Mr. Romney is no better than equal in strength to Mr. Nixon among New Hampshire Republicans. If Gov. Romney should have a hard time in New Hampshire (remember what happened to Rockefeller and Goldwater there, in 1964?), his prospects in many other primaries would be dim.**

Other liberal Republicans are being mentioned seriously as presidential possibilities: Sen. Percy, even Gov. Rockefeller. There will be plenty of favorite-son candidates—and perhaps no big bloc of state delegations behind Romney. So don't be bamboozled by the popularity polls, friends. Nelson Rockefeller was winning polls four years ago.

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NCC RAPPED—The Rev. Richard Wurmbrand, the Lutheran clergyman who was imprisoned for 14 years behind the Iron Curtain, has denounced American churchmen who advocate appeasement of the Communist world. Wurmbrand was especially critical of the National Council of Churches, which has demanded the United States drop its opposition to the recognition of Communist China. "In Red China, in Tientsien, Catholic priests have been burned alive," he said. "We have news that in Chinese prisons Christians have been mutilated for their faith."

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TREASURER PREDICTED—Columnists Allen and Scott predict that Sen. Maurine Neuberger (D.-Ore.), who did not run for re-election this year, will be named treasurer of the United States when former Rep. Kathryn Granahan resigns.

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Is It Time to Get Rid of Farm Programs?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

If the voters really wish to get rid of agricultural controls, 1967 could be the year to begin.

In the first place, all those surpluses that have been hanging over the market for 30 years are disappearing. The Russians and the Red Chinese are not only competing in insults, they are also bidding against each other for Canadian wheat.

The Red Chinese really need the wheat, as witness their purchases from Australia, a nation that is fighting Mao Tse-tung's ally, Ho Chi Minh. As for the Russians, who have apparently had a fair harvest, they are building a food cushion for political uses both in Eastern Europe (where they have been selling wheat to Poland) and among more distant satellites that might, if they were hungry enough, make common cause with the Red Chinese.

Meanwhile, the United States is about to be pinched for the wheat it needs to carry out its policy of lending food support to famine-threatened neutrals such as India.

With the surplus dwindling, Washington told the farmers this year that they might increase their wheat acreage by 32 per cent. This would mean a restoration of 17 million retired acres to production. But the farmers, who have watched the government use its surpluses to depress prices, have learned a trick or two. Instead of going back into wheat, they have branched out into the livestock-feeding business. Beef exports to Europe and elsewhere have tripled in three years. Farmers in the north central states are finding it more profitable to raise milo, a sorghum-type grain, than wheat. In South Dakota, milo has averaged $18 more in net income per acre over wheat for the past six years.

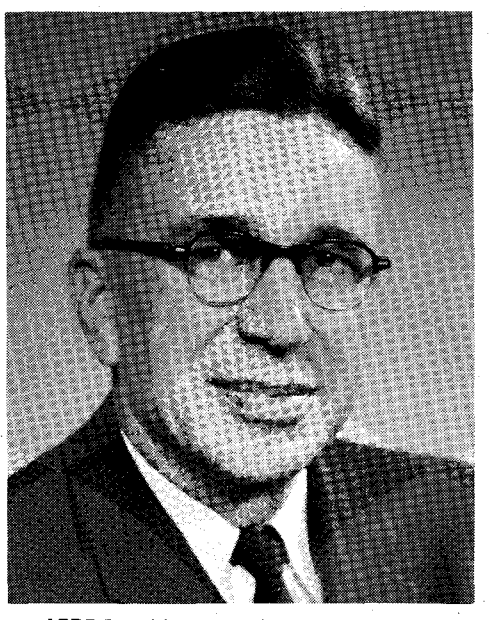
So the farmer has choices, and can even afford to be contemptuous when the government, for a change, comes begging for wheat to hand over to ungrateful neutrals.

When the farm price support and acreage allotment programs were started, the idea was to help the farmer keep his prices up. But Charles Shuman, the president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, is now complaining to his 1,703,900 members (reckoned in families) that the whole intention of the government farm program today is to push prices down. During the first six months of the past marketing year the government dumped hundreds of millions of bushels of feed grain and wheat on the market to please city consumers.

Says Mr. Shuman, "We should have known that when the best interests of farmers, who represent 6 per cent of the voters, conflict with the low-cost food interests of consumers (94 per cent of the voters), the politicians who manage farm programs will aim to please the largest number. The farmers of America have been given a generous dose of this medicine during the past year."

But the farm programs don't really help city people, either. For what consumers gain in lowered food costs whenever the government dumps a surplus, they lose in taxes that go into farm subsidies and by the loss of sales of manufactured goods to farmers. Nobody really gains by interference with the market.

Mr. Shuman has been telling his membership that a "strategic reserve," or an "arsenal," of food is only necessary to support a big Department of Agriculture bureaucracy. Replying to Secretary Orville Freeman's demand for a food "arsenal" to assist needy countries, Mr. Shuman says, "Ample reserves of food . . . are provided by productive livestock, fertile soils and the normal channels of trade . . . if there were no government stockpile to draw on, the private grain trade would find it necessary to maintain sizable reserves in order to do business."



AFBF President Charles Shuman notes that a "strategic reserve" of food only helps support a huge federal farm bureaucracy.

The Farm Bureau Federation is categorical in saying that "the time has come to get rid of the whole sorry mess of government farm controls, direct subsidy payments and price manipulations. There has never been a better time to bring these 'temporary' programs to an end—consumer demand is strong and market prices are above support levels."

If this argument doesn't register with President Lyndon Johnson, maybe the fact that the Farm Bureau in Texas has just "topped 100,000 member families" will have some effect. That's a powerful lot of votes—and with Farm Bureau membership up in 42 other states, the Democratic party might gain more than it would lose by returning to its ancient and classical policy of encouraging the free market.

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SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.), who recently returned from Viet Nam, calls for the bombing of any ships that continue to carry supplies to North Viet Nam. Thurmond, a general in the Army Reserve, said the United States should "give notice" that "bombings are planned and if they [Britain and other Western nations] still come into the harbor, bomb them." Thurmond also called for stepped-up bombing of industrial and military installations in the Communist north.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME?—We were intrigued with one biographical entry in the Random House Dictionary of the English Language. In its entirety it read: "Alger Hiss: born 1904, U.S. public official."—From the Arizona *Republic*

Those Truce 'Incidents'

From the Boston *Herald*

If politics make strange bedfellows then political wars make strange words. Take, for example, the word, "incident." The Viet Cong fired on American troops more than 60 times during the 48-hour Christmas truce in Viet Nam, but an American spokesman insisted that there were no truce violations. Instead, there were only incidents.

Why our government insisted on this euphemism is not totally clear. Some observers believe that the wording is tied into plans for a new peace move.

The wording may also be related to our government's official claim that the Vietnamese Communists are a unified force completely organized and controlled by Hanoi. Obviously we cannot accuse the Viet Cong of ignoring or deliberately violating the truce ordered by Hanoi while at the same time we insist that the Viet Cong never act independently.

But whatever the reason for the euphemism, we hope the American spokesman doesn't have to explain his choice of words to Company C of the 18th Infantry of the 1st Infantry Division.

A nine-man squad from that company went out on patrol Sunday morning to make sure the area surrounding the site of the Bob Hope Christmas special was clear of the enemy. For four hours they crisscrossed their way through the brush, seeing nothing. Finally they turned and headed back towards camp, making their way carefully along a narrow wall separating two rice paddies. The Viet Cong, hiding in some trees approximately 25 yards away, opened up at point-blank range. Eight of the nine men pitched over into the mud and the squad, for all practical purposes, stopped being a squad and became an incident.

The eight men sprawled in the mud never guessed an incident could hurt so much.

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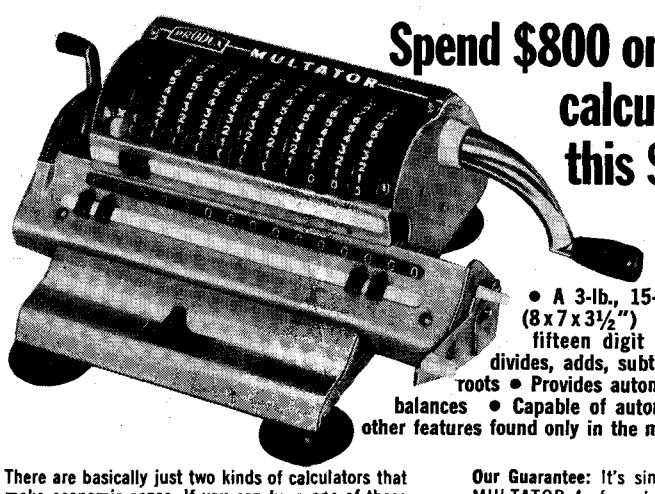
ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN—Gerhard Colm of the National Planning Association also predicts a tax rise. A leading economist, Colm says the rate of economic growth will drop off in 1967 and unemployment will rise.

Spend $800 on an electric calculator or buy this $89 German machine



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There are basically just two kinds of calculators that make economic sense. If you can keep one of those $800 electric machines whirring a good part of every working day then anything less is no bargain. But if you are a businessman, engineer, a shipping clerk or plant foreman (who figures bids and such), a doctor, storekeeper — anyone who spends even 30-minutes a day writing figures on paper — then this last word from Germany can definitely save you expensive time and costly mistakes, without making a major capital investment. The MULTATOR-4 not only multiplies and divides at a brisk clip, but it can perform tricks only a few of those very expensive machines have been taught: such as automatic re-entry* and read-out of negative balances (bookkeepers take note!). This compact wizard from Hamburg naturally extracts square roots, but then, quite a few of those expensive machines can do that also.

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Survey of House and Senate

Strongest LBJ Supporters and Opponents Listed

The non-partisan **Congressional Quarterly** last week published the results of a survey which showed that during 1966 President Johnson won 79 per cent of the congressional roll calls that presented clear-cut tests of support for his views. The study was based on 228 votes on which there was an unmistakable indication, as revealed in Johnson's own messages and public statements, that he would have supported or opposed the proposals put to a vote.

The 79 per cent support of LBJ represents a drop of 14 points from his record 93 per cent in 1965 and was the lowest score since 1960, when President Eisenhower received only 65 per cent support in his last year in office.

In both parties, Johnson's requests received the greatest backing from senators and congressmen from the East. The greatest opposition came from Southern Democrats and Midwestern Republicans.

The average Democratic senator's support score was 57 per cent, while the average mark for House Democrats was 63 per cent. Average Republican support in the Senate was 43 per cent and in the House 37 per cent.

Below are listed the individuals in both parties with the highest opposition or support scores.

SENATE HIGH SCORERS -- OVER-ALL OPPOSITION

Highest individual scorers in Johnson opposition -- those who voted "against" the President most often in 1966:

Democrats		Republicans	
Byrd (Va.)	48%	Cotton (N.H.)	61%
Ervin (N.C.)	47	Hickenlooper (Iowa)	55
Stennis (Miss.)	46	Fannin (Ariz.)	54
Jordan (N.C.)	46	Williams (Del.)	54
Talmadge (Ga.)	45	Mundt (S.D.)	53
Russell (Ga.)	44	Simpson (Wyo.)	53
Robertson (Va.)	43	Young (N.D.)	52

SENATE HIGH SCORES -- OVER-ALL SUPPORT

Highest individual scores in Johnson support -- those who voted "with" the President most often in 1966:

Democrats		Republicans	
Monroney (Okla.)	78%	Javits (N.Y.)	75%
Pastore (R.I.)	78	Smith (Maine)	67
Jackson (Wash.)	78	Aiken (Vt.)	67
Inouye (Hawaii)	77	Case (N.J.)	64
Ribicoff (Conn.)	75	Boggs (Del.)	63
Pell (R.I.)	75	Fong (Hawaii)	57
Proxmire (Wis.)	75	Saltonstall (Mass.)	52

HOUSE HIGH SCORERS -- OVER-ALL OPPOSITION

Democrats		Republicans	
Tuck (Va.)	62%	Buchanan (Ala.)	69%
Haley (Fla.)	61	Lipscomb (Calif.)	63
Satterfield (Va.)	61	Reid (Ill.)	63
Lennon (N.C.)	58	Dole (Kan.)	63
Marsh (Va.)	56	Hutchinson (Mich.)	63
Passman (La.)	55	Langen (Minn.)	63
O'Neal (Ga.)	54	Ashbrook (Ohio)	63
Andrews (Ala.)	53	Duncan (Tenn.)	63
Henderson (N.C.)	53	Quillen (Tenn.)	62
Fountain (N.C.)	52	Hall (Mo.)	61
Ashmore (S.C.)	52	Latta (Ohio)	60
Abbitt (Va.)	52	Watson (S.C.)	60
Waggonner (La.)	51	Poff (Va.)	60

HOUSE HIGH SCORERS -- OVER-ALL SUPPORT

Democrats		Republicans	
Burke (Mass.)	95%	Reid (N.Y.)	74%
Perkins (Ky.)	94	Conte (Mass.)	66
Hathaway (Maine)	94	Halpern (N.Y.)	66
Karsten (Mo.)	94	Schweiker (Pa.)	65
Fascell (Fla.)	93	Tupper (Maine)	64
Bingham (N.Y.)	93	McDade (Pa.)	62
Green (Pa.)	93	Kupferman (N.Y.)	61
Hechler (W.Va.)	93	Horton (N.Y.)	58
Brooks (Texas)	92	Cahill (N.J.)	56
Price (Ill.)	91	Widnall (N.J.)	54
O'Hara (Ill.)	91	Frelinghuysen (N.J.)	52
Brademas (Ind.)	91	Cleveland (N.H.)	52
Patten (N.J.)	91		
Gonzalez (Texas)	91		

More About Castro Interview

By FREDERIC NELSON

Fidel Castro's hint, in that *Playboy* interview, of a secret deal about something or other during the "missile crisis" of 1961 raises many questions, as Ralph de Toledano ably indicated in *Human Events* (Dec. 24, 1966). Another question raised by the interview was: "Why did the interviewer let the bearded tyrant get away with some obvious misstatements of fact?" *Playboy's* fanny-fanciers were entitled to footnotes on some of Fidel's more fantastic replies to questions. Viz:

Playboy: "Were you personally a Communist when you seized power in 1959?"

Castro: "It is possible that I appeared less radical than I really was at that time. It is also possible that I was more radical than even I myself knew. Nobody can say that he reaches certain political conclusions except through a process. Nobody reaches those convictions in a day, often not in a year"—and so on for some time.

But Castro had been identified as a Communist, if not actually a Red agent, as early as 1948 as a consequence of his participation in the attempted uprising at Bogotá, Colombia.

According to Nathaniel Weyl in *Red Star Over Cuba*, Castro was named by the Colombian security chief among the group of Communists, native and imported, who were implicated in the attempted *Putsch*.

Castro's brother-in-law, Diaz Balart, told the U.S. Senate Internal Security subcommittee that Castro became a Communist while at the university (circa 1948) and had been implicated in the assassination of another student. Castro's sister told the House Committee on Un-American Activities that "before he even reached the Sierra Maestra Mountains, he himself [Fidel] had already prepared plans for the Communist take-over of Cuba."

Former Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith attempted repeatedly before the take-over to interest the State Department in the possibility that Castro was a Communist, but the department preferred to accept the verdict of Herbert Matthews of the New York *Times* that Fidel was "not only not Communist but decidedly anti-Communist."

Another of *Playboy's* colloquies:

Playboy: "Yet some observers have characterized your development as a Communist as having been largely a series of reactions on your part to hostile acts by the U.S.; that is, that the U.S. in effect forced you into the Communist camp."

Castro: "The United States, with its imperialist foreign policy, constitutes part of the contemporary circumstance that make revolutionaries out of people everywhere. It is not the only cause, but it is certainly one of the factors. . . ."

At another point Fidel replied affirmatively to the question: "Did the subsequent hostility of the American government have much to do with creating a receptive atmosphere for communism in Cuba?"

"Subsequent" hostility takes account of the mawkish slobbering on the part of radio "personalities," politicians and journalists which greeted Fidel when he appeared in the United States, and plucked chickens in his hotel room. No mention is made, of course, of the part American policy played in getting him into the driver's seat in the first place.

The embargo on arms to the Batista government, the refusal of State to go along with the election of a middle-of-the-road president to succeed Batista, the barrage of journalistic propaganda in this country which all but silenced skeptics: none of these reasons for gratitude by Castro for the help he received from the "imperialistic" U.S.A. is made available to the *Playboy* readership.

□ □ □

MAKING ENDS MEET—"There is far more danger in public than in private monopoly, for when government goes into business it can always shift its losses to the taxpayers. Government never makes ends meet—and that is the first requisite of business."—Thomas A. Edison

Dr. Graham Obsolete?

From the Dallas *Morning News*

The Rev. Billy Graham is obsolete. This is the absurd charge that has been leveled by an official of the National Council of Churches.

The official, the Rev. Colin Williams, told reporters covering the NCC General Assembly meeting at Miami Beach that Dr. Graham's emphasis on the personal nature of Christianity "is no longer an adequate symbol for the contemporary world." Dr. Graham, charged Rev. Williams, has lost sight of the "social dimensions" of sin and the ways it is to be overcome.

It is Rev. Williams' idea that the ministry practiced by Dr. Graham be replaced by a "new evangelism" that demands repentance from "social" as well as personal sins. This is not the first time such ideas have been handed down from the NCC pulpit.

The organization seems determined to undermine the personal, Bible-based religion that has been the foundation of Protestantism for centuries.

In its place, a peculiar kind of socio-religious politics would be installed, with the NCC acting as the national mouthpiece for all Protestants. Protestant churches would then become just another lobby in Washington.

Dr. Graham's brand of vital and meaningful religion is sorely needed. It is not possible to "Christianize" an entire society with high-sounding declarations and political action. It must be done by taking the story of Christ to individual men.

The NCC long has considered itself an expert on economic and social problems. But never, until now, have any of its bureaucrats assumed the responsibility of assessing the worth of individual Christian ministers.

Such conduct doesn't merely lower the status of the NCC in the eyes of the thousands who admire Dr. Graham and his work; it also frustrates and degrades the work of a fine Christian man.

In the meantime, Billy Graham is in South Viet Nam giving hope, solace and comfort to American soldiers doing their part to stop the spread of atheistic communism. He held the hand of a wounded GI on the operating table and said a prayer for his survival and complete recovery.

Is such ministry obsolete? Would the critics of Dr. Graham criticize him if he did the same for their sons?

□ □ □

"FOR MERE VENGEANCE I would do nothing. This nation is too great to look for mere revenge. But for the security of the future I would do everything."—James A. Garfield

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Union pickets look on as a Florida East Coast Railway train passes by. The line has had severe problems with sabotage and dynamitings.

Sabotage in U.S. Industry

By PAUL HARVEY

Man alive, our Chicago hoodlums don't play this rough!

Driving through Palm Beach Gardens, Fla.—or anywhere that your roadway crosses the Florida East Coast Railway—you are likely suddenly to be sobered by the sight of a car racing down the railway tracks.

No, it's a car all right. It's riding on flanged wheels ahead of the train, so that if the rails are booby-trapped, only one car and driver will be destroyed instead of a whole trainful.

There have been more than 400 acts of sabotage or suspected sabotage since that railroad was struck by 11 off-train unions in 1963.

In 1964 there were nine dynamitings. Though the company now posts guards at bridges and employs a dozen other security precautions, the sabotage continues.

Our big-city syndicate hoodlums are likely to rub out a singing colleague or criminal competitor and bomb the establishment of an unconvinced restaurateur—but to endanger a whole trainload of innocents is a crime too sick even for the Mafia.

Industrial sabotage has become a national disgrace.

Recently the *Wall Street Journal* reported that industrial sabotage is "a far bigger and more costly problem than many companies will admit. General Electric was unable to sell more than 25,000 refrigerators last June, largely because of acts of sabotage . . . grease and oil rubbed on cases, sand on sugar and other foreign substances dumped into paint systems . . . have caused literally thousands of refrigerator cases to be rejected."

Traveling, I am frequently invited to tour the local mine, mill, or factory. Increasingly, in recent years, I have noticed security precautions reminiscent of wartime; special credentials are issued, badges are worn, casual or uninvited members of the entourage are excluded at the gate or at the lab door.

One reason is that industries spy on one another, thus each jealously guards its newest devices. But more often the careful scrutiny is intended to exclude potential saboteurs from vulnerable premises.

As the *Wall Street Journal* says, "An employe angry at his foreman may leave a little sand in a delivery truck gas tank, a piece of metal to jam machinery, a faulty assembly job to insure a reject or a complaint."

Celanese Corp. once counted 600 acts of sabotage in six weeks, after ordering an unpopular increase in the workload. A printing plant banned smoking on the premises and promptly thereafter found printing plates scratched and chipped.

Saboteurs, caught, are discharged—but rarely prosecuted. The company does not want to distress stockholders. Also, if a lenient court lets the culprit go, he may sue the employer for false arrest. Even though sabotage in a defense plant is punishable as a federal crime, nobody has been brought to trial for such an act in 10 years.

The problem is not new. Early French textile workers resisting automation jammed their *sabots* (wooden shoes) into the machinery, thus giving such mischief the name of sabotage. So Americans did not invent the crime, but the more sophisticated the machines become, the more costly are these acts of deliberate destruction of corporate property. And when somebody's vindictiveness endangers lives, perhaps it is time to abandon the timidity which gives these disgusting rascals immunity, and start throwing them into jail.

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LBJ's RE-ELECTION PROBLEMS—"These incidents [the credibility gap concerning the recent Hanoi bombings, the resignation of Press Secretary Bill Moyers, and the condemnation of many Democratic governors] dramatize the three most important aspects of the Johnson problem—the eroding public confidence in his reports on, and handling of, the Viet Nam war; the visible attrition among the central policy-makers of his Administration; and the fraying lines of allegiance with his vital allies in the state and local Democratic parties. . . . The governors' declaration was a desperate warning cry to Mr. Johnson. Its authors were not anti-Johnson and they certainly were not pro-Kennedy. They were just worried Democrats. Unless the President heeds their message and responds in ways which will revitalize his Administration, restore public confidence and repair the break with his own party, it is difficult to see how he can recover."—By David S. Broder in the Washington *Post*

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LBJ Must Be Happy to See Old Year Out

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Who would have imagined a year ago—or six months ago or even three months ago—that the end of 1966 would find Lyndon Johnson so deep in political trouble? It seems incredible, contemplating the tumbleweed course of the President's vicissitudes that everything should have piled up so quickly.

The end of 1965 found Mr. Johnson riding high in the saddle. The war in Viet Nam was no better, but it was no worse either. Elsewhere in the world foreign affairs seemed to be going tolerably well. Here at home the President was in total command of the 89th Congress. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been followed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965; the anti-poverty programs were humming; Medicare was on the way. Luci was in love and all was right in Lyndon's world.

What a difference a year makes! The patience of the country is running thin on Viet Nam. With every month that passes the mood grows stronger to run the risks that would have to be run, and to get this thing over and done with. De Gaulle has made himself insufferable in France. The situation in Germany is not good. Britain has dragged the United States into an indefensible position on Rhodesia. Castro survives in Cuba. Even the fruits of the Manila conference, at first so bright and inviting, have proved to be mainly pulp.

Yet apart from the dull ache of Viet Nam, the foreign situation might be tolerated as no worse than a twinge of bursitis. It is the situation at home that invites public diagnosis and demands Democratic therapy.

Individually the symptoms might seem insignificant. Cumulatively, they spell trouble. A year ago the Republican presidential nomination of 1968 had no more appeal than a plate of hash at a gourmets' convention. Richard Nixon was quite literally the only prospect in sight, and he was viewed cynically as an old steer that could well be spared for slaughter. Now the meadows are full of Republican prospects; they are gamboling like yearling calves. In the rising sun of Republican hopes, the legend of Lyndon's invincibility dissolves. A second term for Mr. Johnson no longer is seen as a political certainty. And this mood will grow.

When the President gazes up the avenue toward the Hill, he sees nothing but struggle ahead. In a couple of weeks Secretary McNamara will be around to defend his staggering bill for supplemental appropriations. He will get his money, but he will catch a wingful of flak in the process. The bloom is off the rose of civil rights. Most of the anti-poverty programs are in trouble; a recent survey by the Washington *Evening Star* found the anti-poverty offices deep in gloom, and many of the warriors packing their bags. Aid to education offers the greatest promise of political profit, but money is short and the states are chafing at federal restraints.

When the President thinks in terms of partisan politics, and such thinking seldom is far from his mind, he finds a prospect equally bleak. The Republican gains of November can be rationalized; he has been rationalizing them to everyone for the past six weeks. The serious problems lie within his own party. It threatens to fall apart at the seams. Recently Mr. Johnson called some of the dissident Democratic governors into his leaky ark. They came, one by one and two by two, and departed with pasted smiles on their faces. They left no Yuletide cheer behind.

And it is not merely the right wing of his party that is flapping in wrath; the left wing is fluttering resentfully too. The Kennedys are like love: Their magic spell is everywhere. The junior senator from New York may stumble fetchingly on a ski slope, but he is as nimble as a mountain goat upon the political hills. Now comes the William Manchester book, with an avalanche of publicity behind it. Mr. Johnson must be asking, What next?

Above and beyond all this, as James Reston of the New York *Times* was remarking recently, is a certain dreariness of atmosphere. One senses it in Washington this winter as one senses a snow coming on. It cannot be defined in terms of the cost-of-living index, or of Bill Moyers' departure, or of the credibility gap. It is a certain heaviness in the President himself. John Kennedy had a lively temper; so had Ike; Mr. Truman had a lulu. But the Johnson temper is like none of these. He bruises.

Some of these symptoms will vanish in coming weeks. Washington in recess is a tired and sometimes sullen town; it is slushy and dirty and cold. Reporters have no one to talk to but each other, and this is always bad. In another week or so the pace will quicken. A host of new faces will draw attention from the President's troubles. One good turn in the war could send the Johnson stock back up.

He is a fighter, not a quitter, and critics too often tend to count his liabilities without taking account of his assets. Even so, one can imagine that along the Pedernales, Christmas weekend passed with mixed emotions. Mr. Johnson may be glad to see the old year out; he's hardly in raptures to see the New Year in.

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Public Entitled to Knowledge

Deficit Widens Credibility Gap

From the San Diego *Union*

What is regarded as essential in the conduct of our personal finances is surely the criterion we should use in our national budget keeping. Only a fool believes he can live continually above his means. Only a foolish nation will continue to allow a new form of the Washington "credibility gap" to persist—the gap between fact and fancy over our national economic situation.

As President Johnson works on the annual fiscal policy it is worth recalling his first budget of $100 billion, which he aimed for in 1964 and exceeded in 1965. Now escalation of the war in Viet Nam and "Great Society" programs have brought us to a prospect of a budget of about $140 billion—an actual increase of $10 billion a year for each of the past four years.

With the larger budget has come an ever-increasing deficit. This year it likely will be nearly $10 billion instead of the comparatively modest $1.8 billion built into the budget of last January. The nation's "cash" budget has increased from $99.5 billion in 1961 to a potential of $159 billion next year, according to Budget Bureau indications.

It would be easy to assume that the Administration, in its estimates, has been overtaken by events in Viet Nam. While it is true that some—by no means most—of the increase is due to the war, the military spending was planned as though it would fall away at the end of the fiscal period ending in June.

There is a need to be straight and honest with the people of the United States over the state of their "bank account." There is an urgent need to close the fiscal credibility gap before it further weakens our nation. Other aspects of the Administration's public affairs already have shown us how wide the credibility gap can become.

The ordinary man may be forgiven for not fully comprehending the difference between deficit spending and discount drugs, or the Keynesian theory from the Malthusian. He also can certainly appreciate from knowledge of his budget the Dickensian advice of Mr. Micawber, who reminded us from a debtors' jail that to spend more than your income is to court trouble.

There are, admittedly, legitimate programs to maintain equilibrium in the economy, to allow for the hills and valleys of national prosperity. But to be less than honest with the plain, straightforward facts of what it costs to run the Administration in all its phases leads to speculation, not only on the stock exchange, but in the minds of the public who rightly suspect they are being ruthlessly misled.

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"SPECIAL MENTION must be made of the courageous liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America. Only recently the United States regarded Latin America as its reliable rear. There is not a single country in that continent today where the people are not waging a struggle against U.S. imperialism and its accomplices—the local military, feudals, and bourgeoisie, who are linked with foreign monopolies. This struggle is headed by the working class and the Communist parties."—Leonid Brezhnev in a report to the Central Committee of the 23rd Soviet Communist party Congress, March 1966

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Hungarian freedom fighters exchange fire with secret police units in Budapest. Later the Russians moved in with their armor and the rebellion was suppressed while the Hungarians received no help from the West.

U.S. Has Not Learned Vital Lesson of Hungary

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Do not close your books on 1966 without recalling that this was the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. Let your tears fall more for 1966 than for 1956 because, after America's sorry failure in that great crisis of history, America has learned nothing. The disintegration of our national character marked by the Hungarian Revolution has steadily deepened.

The Hungarian tragedy stands as a monument to faithlessness. The West, bearing an historic responsibility for the spread of freedom, had so dulled its perception of reality with conjured fears of Soviet power and illusory hopes of peace that it had abandoned the fight for freedom. It had accepted the status quo.

Then it happened. The arbitrary tyranny which dictators must invoke for their own security provoked the rebellion of a spirited people. When they fought the police, their premier stood with the people. When Soviet forces attacked the people, the Hungarian army, trained by the Soviet apparatus, stood with the people and drove the Soviet forces from the capital. For five days the freedom fighters, representing the lawful government of Hungary, held Budapest, including the Budapest airport.

What an opportunity! An American division from West Germany could have been flown into the Budapest airport on invitation of the lawful government of Hungary! **U.S. reconnaissance planes could have covered Soviet movements to assure Soviet withdrawal from the country. Hungary could have been restored to freedom.**

The Soviet leaders paused. Their forces on the scene had been defeated. What would the Western nations do? If the United States supported the Hungarian government with military power, the Soviet Union would have no recourse but to withdraw from the country.

In the United Nations, the Soviet Union took the offensive. It charged the United States with fomenting the revolt and the Nagy government with being an American stooge. It thundered threats.

President Eisenhower and his Cabinet were stupified by fear. Their intelligence estimates had not anticipated that a Soviet-trained satellite army would turn on its masters and free its people.

Instead of moving decisively to support the Hungarian government, President Eisenhower moved through Ambassador Lodge in the United Nations to *mediate* between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian government! When it became apparent that the United States would do nothing to oppose the Soviet Union, Soviet forces moved to the attack and smashed the Hungarian defenses of Budapest.

The Hungarian government did not call for Western help until it was too late. Leaders of the revolt, exultant over their victory in the streets of Budapest, mistakenly believed that the Soviet forces would withdraw on demand of the Nagy government. After a decade of Soviet rule, they still did not understand the Soviet character. Premier Nagy and Gen. Pal Maleter lost their lives and their cause by accepting a Soviet safe-conduct.

The decisive failure was that of the United States. If President Eisenhower had moved promptly to support the Hungarian government, as he later moved to support the government of Lebanon, he would have achieved the greatest victory for freedom to be achieved in this century. It might well have sparked the disintegration of the Communist empire.

President Eisenhower failed because he had abandoned faith in freedom. He did not believe that men would rebel against tyranny as the Hungarians did. He had forsaken the captive peoples and hope of their liberation. He had joined with his allies in a strategy of reducing East-West tensions in behalf of peace. He had deceived himself with pretensions that he could win the cold war with talk of peace. This was indeed one of the most catastrophic misjudgments in the history of mankind.

And yet, this is the considered judgment of our government today. This is the rationale of trade with the Communist countries while our sons die in Viet Nam. This is the mentality which refuses to blockade Haiphong. This is the sickness of leaders who have already been defeated. The twilight deepens.

Our Entangling U.N. Alliance

By ALICE WIDENER

As in a Greek tragedy, the course of events at the United Nations is dragging our country into disastrous involvement with the chaotic internal affairs of nations in Balkanized Africa. From the very beginning the United States was drawn into an entangling alliance at the U.N. with two forces certain to sap our strength: (1) the Communist bloc, with interests diametrically opposed to our own; and (2) the anti-colonialist bloc, with passions and aspirations mistakenly identified with our 18th Century War of Independence.

There is almost no resemblance between our struggle against British rule in 1776 and that of the Ian Smith government in 1966. In our struggle, it was a case of like rebelling against like—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton were men of education and Western tradition intellectually equal or even superior to those officials in England against whom the Americans were rebelling.

No one in American circles in 1776 proposed to turn the government of the newly formed United States over to the Indians. Though they were the native people of our land, their lack of civilization was such that even the most liberty-loving Founding Father of our country never for an instant thought of enfranchising them. Nobody at the Continental Congress proposed "one man, one vote" for the Mohawks, Sioux, Cherokees and the rest.

In Rhodesia and South Africa today, almost all the African natives—except

Ambassador Arthur Goldberg has aided African demagogues in the United Nations.

for a handful educated abroad—are in a state much similar, and perhaps culturally inferior, to that of the American Indian in 1776. The concept of one man, one vote for the blacks of the modern industrial nations of Rhodesia and South Africa at this stage of history is unworkable. It is no more logical to expect the advanced white minority in those nations to submit to black majority rule than it would have been for the George Washington Administration to submit to American Indian rule.

At the United Nations this year there has been an enormous amount of racist demagoguery pronounced by the African bloc and by our own representatives, including Ambassador Arthur Goldberg.

Tragically, there have been frequent comparisons made between contemporary Africans and Afro-Americans, though the latter are centuries ahead of the former. In our country, even the poorest and most uneducated Negroes have places of identifiable residence and can be registered for voting. In Rhodesia and South Africa, most natives live in the bush and wander from area to area. It is impossible to mail registration cards to them, or send them campaign literature, or inform them about the good or bad qualities of this or that candidate for public office.

It would have been far easier to enfranchise the American Indian a hundred years ago than it would be to enfranchise the Bantu in South Africa today.

Yet today—on the question of majority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa—a few African leaders of economically unviable African states dependent on the West for economic and social progress are propelling our nation into a "liberation" war against the whites of Rhodesia and South Africa.

Curiously, many of the loudest ideological protesters against "American aggression in Viet Nam" are calling for American aggression against Rhodesia and South Africa.

There are only three consequences possible under the United Nations call for mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia: (1) successful evasion of the sanctions, with endless friction, inconvenience and deprivation; (2) military action by the U.N. to enforce the sanctions; (3) the break-up of the U.N. Any U.N. war against Rhodesia and South Africa would be subsidized by American taxpayers and lead to total disaster for the civilized West.

Before it is too late, the American people should ponder the probable outcome of their present entangling alliance in the United Nations and try to extricate themselves from it through revision of the U.N. Charter. Such revision could convert the international organization into a purely humanitarian but nonpolitical body. As presently constituted, the U.N. cannot be a force for peace, sad though this may be.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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OVERPAID MAILMEN—The watchdog General Accounting Office reports that under an antiquated pay system, many rural mail carriers are grossly overpaid. Investigation by the GAO disclosed that most rural carriers are paid according to the length of their routes and years of service—without regard to hours worked. As a result, in the Cincinnati area these carriers make as much as $8.41 an hour. The GAO estimated annual savings of $3.4 million in the Cincinnati area alone if the carriers were put on an hourly basis. The Post Office supports the change, estimates a saving of $58 million if the system were extended nationwide.

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U.S. TAXPAYERS are financing research in Communist Yugoslavia into the "black stem rust disease of wheat." The Department of Agriculture is spending $61,040 in counterpart funds for research at Tito's University of Zagreb. These funds are obtained from the "sale" of American agricultural commodities. The United States then turns around and, in effect, gives the dinars to the Yugoslav government.

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ONE BILLION DOLLARS in new Social Security taxes will be added January 1. For 1966, the maximum Social Security tax paid by an employe was $277.20; for 1967, it will be $290.40. Of course, the employer matches this amount. —From the *Current Report* of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce.

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Will Directly Affect Every State

Administration Makes Sweeping Changes in Health Aid Spending

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Johnson Administration is making far-reaching changes in how the states will spend billions of dollars in federal aid for more than 40 different health programs.

Chief among the programs affected by these backstage administrative revisions are:

- All those receiving health care funds from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity (the anti-poverty agency).
- Funds for the construction of hospitals, medical and nursing schools.
- National Institutes of Health research grants, and funds for medical personnel training programs administered by a number of federal agencies.

This extensive backstage administrative shake-up, that will directly affect every state in the Union, is being made under a little-known law passed in the final days of the recent Congress.

Under this measure—officially known as the Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Service Amendments Act—HEW Secretary John Gardner was empowered to reorganize the handling of all health aid funds to states. Surgeon General William Stewart, directed by Gardner to put this revamping into effect, described the aim to a meeting of federal and state health officials as follows:

"The intent is to develop revolutionary new approaches to federal-state health relationship. The old system of government arrangements, inadequate state government, disjointed relations between federal, state and local levels, and uncoordinated federal programs and unmanageable city government, is dying and must be replaced."

To put these far-reaching changes into operation, state governors are being informed they must designate or their legislatures create "a single agency with the responsibility for administering or supervising the state's health planning functions."

Also, that a State Health Planning Council must be set up to advise the new state health planning agency, and that "a majority of its members must represent consumers of health services."

This requirement is patterned after the advisory councils of the anti-poverty program, of which a majority are representatives of the poor.

The heated controversy surrounding these OEO advisory groups is one of the reasons Congress slashed funds for various trouble-wracked anti-poverty programs, particularly community action projects.

Regional offices of the Public Health Service are to be expanded to establish direct contact with the new state agencies, and to help plan the allocation of federal grants.

The enlarged Public Health Service regional offices will be directly under Surgeon General Stewart.

At his meeting with federal-state officials, he stressed that "we have decided to change our way of doing business in a rather radical manner. The changes being made are primarily for the purpose of pooling project grant funds and to broaden the possibilities of using these grants for innovation, demonstration or a specific target."

In justification of these far-reaching plans, Stewart cited the language of the new law as follows:

"Congress finds that comprehensive planning for health services, health manpower and health facilities is essential at every level of government. Federal assistance must be directed to the marshaling of all health resources."

The state-federal officials also were told that President Johnson will send a special message to the new Congress "as an integral part of an Administration program to establish health care as a human right."

This "human rights" approach for pushing expanded health programs was formulated by HEW Secretary John Gardner. He proposed it as a strategy to counter congressional moves to cut federal expenditures for health programs.

As outlined by Surgeon General Stewart to the state and federal health officials, the Administration's over-all policy is "to provide good health for every citizen to the limits of our country's capacity."

"These are our marching orders—yours as well as mine—delivered not just by Administration leaders, but by the people," continued Stewart. "Underlying this challenge is the assumption that health is a human right. Once this proposition is accepted, it will become self-evident that every person should have ready access to high-quality personal health service."

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Surveys by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare indicate that some 55 million persons—one out of every four in the United States—are eligible for some form of medical and hospital service under federal aid programs. Their annual cost could come to about $16 billion in fiscal 1967. Of this huge total, $2.4 billion is provided by Social Security payroll taxes; $550 million by medical-insurance premiums paid by beneficiaries over 65; and the rest from federal, state and local taxes.

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Illegitimacy is on the rise. Arthur Lesser, deputy chief of HEW's Children's Bureau, reports, "Since 1950 there has been an 83 per cent increase in out-of-wedlock births in the U.S." His study also shows that "cities of 500,000 or more have an infant mortality rate well above the national average."

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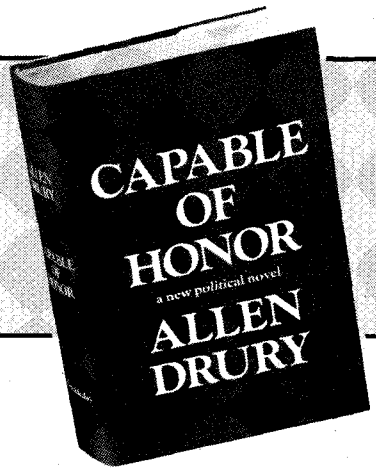

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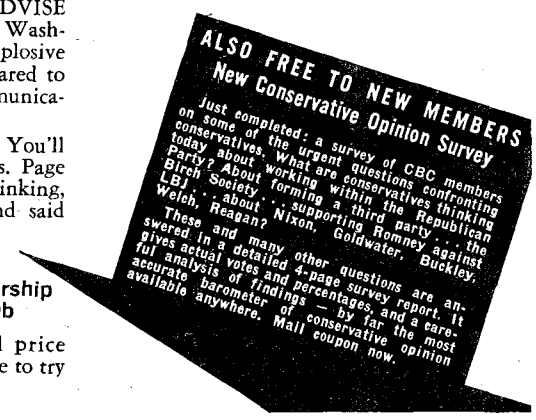
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